



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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16 December 1992

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Djibouti

Campaigning Ends Midnight 15 Dec

EA1612064792 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali 1700 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] In connection with the forthcoming multi-party elections due to be held on 18 December, the election campaigns which have been going on in the country will come to an end at midnight tonight. In this regard the minister of interior, posts, and telecommunications, Mr. Ahmed Boulaleh Barreh, issued a statement today saying that all election rules have been compiled and made ready in order to facilitate the holding of smooth, fair, and free elections. The minister's statement follows:

[Begin Ahmed recording] In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful. Peace and the blessings of God be upon you. At midnight tonight the election campaign will come to an end. Therefore, I hereby inform the Popular Rally for Progress and the Party for Reviving Democracy that they must end their campaigns before the deadline. I wish to add that a full communique will be issued by the government regarding the end of the campaign before the deadline, which would have been tomorrow. Remember, the campaigns ends tonight. God bless you. [end recording]

Other reports on the elections say the mayor of Djibouti has chaired a meeting attended by all chairmen of district polling stations at which all technical issues regarding the forthcoming elections due to take place on 18 December were discussed.

Meanwhile, the first foreign election observers arrived in the country today. A group of six French officials, headed by a lawyer, have arrived. More foreign observers from organizations such as the Arab League, the OAU, and others are due soon. The duties of these foreign election observers will be to ensure that the elections are held in a fair and free manner. These will be the country's first multiparty elections.

Ethiopia

Refugee Repatriation From Kenya To Begin

EA1512202592 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0930 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Excerpt] One of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] branch offices reports that the week-long repatriation of about 80,000 Ethiopian refugees from Kenya is to begin. According to (Marawan Korin), (?spokesman) for the UNHCR in Ethiopia, the organization has a plan to repatriate 500 [as heard] refugees from Kenya to Ethiopia every day. The majority of these refugees, who are from southern Ethiopia, escaped to Kenya when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front captured Addis Ababa in May 1991. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Police Have 'Shoot to Kill' Order in Uasin Gishu

EA1512203492 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Police Commissioner Philip Kilonzo today issued a shoot-to-kill order on anyone caught burning houses as tension continues to prevail in Uasin Gishu District where unconfirmed reports indicate that 14 people may have died after renewed inter-ethnic clashes in the last three days.

Kilonzo led a high-powered delegation of administration officials who visited Burnt Forest where eight people were confirmed killed over the weekend after clashes between members of the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities. Rift Valley provincial commissioner, Yusuf Haji, assured area residents that security would be stepped up in the region. Fifty-four suspects have so far been arrested in connection with the clashes.

Other reports say non-Kalenjins living in the area are vacating their homes in groups, and hundreds are already camped at St. Patrick's Iten Catholic Mission. Others are reported heading for Nakuru District.

Reaction to Uasin Gishu Violence

KANU Candidates Comment

EA1512195092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1000 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Renewed inter-ethnic clashes that left eight people dead in Uasin Gishu have generated mixed reactions from various quarters. Two KANU [Kenya African National Union] nominees in the district have blamed opposition party members for the clashes, while opposition party members say yesterday's incident was the beginning of organized clashes in the Rift Valley Province.

Eldoret North and Eldoret East KANU nominees, William Saina and Joel Barmasai, last night in a jointly signed statement accused the opposition of continually capitalizing on the misery that faced the citizens during the clashes. While condemning the latest spate of violence in Eldoret, the two parliamentary aspirants said they blamed the cowardly hands of some members of the opposition in the recent killing of eight people in the Burnt Forest area. They said they had taken note of a call by the FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya first vice chairman, Paul Muite, to his supporters to take up arms and fight fellow Kenyans. Saina and Barmasai appealed to the Democratic Party [DP] of Kenya and FORD-Asili to desist from Uasin Gishu and not to use it as a springboard for Kikuyu support in Rift Valley.

The statement follows two similar statements last night issued by the government and the ruling party, KANU,

laying the eruption of clashes in several parts of Rift Valley at the opposition parties' doorstep.

[KTN carries further reaction at 1600 GMT: "Archbishop Manasses Kuria, head of the Church of the Province of Kenya, today said that steps to put the violence to an end were unsatisfactory and expressed concern that the violence may interfere with elections on the 29th. And the National Council of Churches of Kenya, NCKK, has requested the government to act swiftly in bringing an end to the clashes reportedly at Burnt Forest and Eldoret. In a press release, the secretary general, Samuel Kobia, said the church was apprehensive about elections being conducted freely and fairly if the clashes escalated. He also called upon Kenyans to refrain from being used to unleash violence.

"The DP secretary general, John Keen, in a separate statement, blamed the renewed clashes on inciting statements by certain leaders in the Rift Valley. Keen said the leaders had warned of dire consequences on those who did not support KANU in the Rift Valley.

"And, separately, a group claiming to speak for Kalenjin in Nairobi said they saw the renewed clashes as a plot against the community by the opposition parties."

FORD-Asili Candidates Comment

EA1512200792 Nairobi KNA in English 1630 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Eldoret, 15 Dec (KNA)—Two parliamentary candidates in Uasin Gishu District have denied that opposition parties in the district were responsible for the renewed clashes which have hit parts of the area. Julius Kiiru Chomba and Joseph Mwangi Njuguna, who are standing on FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili tickets in Eldoret South and Eldoret East respectively, denied that their party was involved in any violent activities in the district as alleged by other political aspirants, Joel Barmasai and William Morogo Saina.

To the contrary, the two FORD-Asili candidates charged that the renewed violence were properly organised and executed by their political opponents with the support of a district chairman of a certain political party. They said the immediate former MP [member of parliament] for Eldoret South, Dr. Joseph Misoi, and the KANU [Kenya African National Union] chairman, Mr. Jackson Kibor, are on record as having cautioned members of some ethnic communities in the district not to participate in politics.

The two aspirants called on the attorney-general to institute the necessary legal action against all leaders who preached violence irrespective of their positions in society.

Saina and Barmasai were reported on KBC radio this morning as having blamed the renewed clashes on opposition parties in the district. But in their joint statement,

Chomba and Njuguna stressed that the opposition had nothing to gain from instigation of violence.

They expressed the fear that unless the clashes were halted and the victims resettled immediately, there would be no free and fair elections in Uasin Gishu District. They said what was happening amounted to election rigging in advance and appealed to the international observers to take whatever was happening seriously and move out of Nairobi to see for themselves how some 25,000 voters have been displaced in Uasin Gishu during the renewed clashes.

The two aspirants also appealed to the Electoral Commission chairman, Justice Chesoni, to make arrangements so that the clash victims can [be] issued with fresh identity and voters cards as whatever they had was destroyed by fire. The two candidates appealed to donor agencies, the Red Cross and individuals to assist the clash victims who are now camping in churches and at the local police station in Burnt Forest area with donations in either cash or kind. They said the donations can be channelled through the Catholic, PCEA [Presbyterian Church of East Africa] and the CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya] Churches in the area.

Candidate Alleges Guerrillas in Forest

EA1612065192 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1000 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili nominee in Molo, Njenga Mungai, has alleged that bands of guerrillas are busy constructing structures and tents in various forests in the Rift Valley Province and especially in Nakuru District. He also claims that the alleged guerrillas are stealing livestock from the area residents to be used as food when the guerrillas mount guerrilla warfare in Kenya soon after the next elections. Mungai was speaking to KTN yesterday after addressing an international press conference at Chester House.

[Begin Mungai recording] I am appealing to KANU [Kenya African National Union] government to be realistic that the responsibility of every Kenyan's security is still in the hands of KANU party and its government until after the general elections where the people's verdict shall decide our next (?decision) at the ballot box. Can the government tell what structures of temporary shelters and tents, especially in Ndoinet Forest are being used for and by whom? Because these structures are there and people started to feel suspicious that these structures are being used by the terrorists. [end recording]

[Nairobi KNA in English at 1200 GMT on 15 December carries the following: "A parliamentary candidate for Molo constituency, Mr. Joseph Kebenei, has refuted rumours that there were Kalenjin warriors in the forest ready to attack Kikuyu residents in Molo.

"Talking to the press in Nakuru today, Mr. Kebenei, who is vying for the Molo seat on a KANU ticket, blasted

a certain politician whom he said was going round Molo, Njoro, and Holo spreading rumours that the warriors would strike any time. He said the rumours have forced most residents to flee from their homes in fear of being invaded. Mr. Kebenei warned the residents against such politicians who he said were out to cause despondency during the elections.

["He said the rumours were unfounded and were aimed at disrupting peace that prevailed in Molo and especially after the ethnic clashes. The candidate appealed to all the aspirants to stop inciting the voters against each other. He commended Molo residents for maintaining peace and unity asking them to elect a leader capable of maintaining this unity."]

FORD-Kenya 'Would Not Accept' Moi Return

EA1512204492 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Paul Kibugi Muite repeated his threat to the nation today that if President Moi and KANU [Kenya African National Union] were returned to power in the forthcoming general elections on 29 December, Kenya would become another Somalia. In an open letter to President Moi, a copy of which was made available to KTN, Muite, who is FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]- Kenya's first vice chairman, said FORD-Kenya would not accept President Moi and KANU to be returned to power because he and KANU were responsible for all the problems afflicting this country.

Earlier this week, Muite threatened that, should President Moi and KANU win this month's elections, FORD-Kenya would start a civil war in this country. Muite's utterances have since attracted widespread condemnation from several Kenyans across the country.

Somalia

Ali Mahdi Reaffirms Commitment to Foreign Troops

EA1512191692 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1400 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The interim president of Somalia, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed, has met at his office some officials from the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, Somali Patriotic Movement, and United Somali Front. Speaking at the ceremony, President Ali Mahdi briefed the officials about his recent meeting with his main rival, General Aidid, adding that their meeting was cordial and that they both signed a seven-point peace agreement directed at ending the differences which have been dragging on for a year between the rival factions of the United Somali Congress [USC]. The president further said that technical committees had been named to study existing problems in the country with the emphasis on ironing out differences between the USC factions.

The president said it was essential that the people of this country realize where their interests lay. President Mahdi said Somalis must settle their differences in their national interest. We must make sacrifices in order to restore brotherly love, said the president. He said that national unity and Somali patriotism had been dealt a serious blow and it was therefore the duty of all of us to work hard to mend what had been damaged. He said that a bleeding wound has to be nursed carefully if you want it to heal.

Speaking about the foreign troops which have come into the country, the president said the interim government had always called for the arrival of foreign troops in Somalia to safeguard food aid donated by the international community. Therefore, every Somali is duty bound to give support to the foreign troops in achieving their objectives.

In conclusion, President Mahdi said that on 1 January, a meeting will be held in Addis Ababa to prepare the ground for a national reconciliation conference. The UN chief is expected to attend the conference, said Mr. Mahdi. He called on the movements to work hard to find a lasting and acceptable solution to the crisis in Somalia.

The representatives of the various movements who met the president hailed him for having struck a peace deal with his major rival, Gen. Aidid, and assured him of their unswerving support, while wishing the Somali people speedy peace and the realization of much-needed national unity. The movements lastly called on the interim president to continue tirelessly with his peace efforts.

Latest Developments on Relief Efforts 16 Dec

Legionnaires Leave 'Kilometer 4'

AB1512184292 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, Dec 15 (AFP) - French foreign legionnaires were Tuesday [15 December] ordered to leave the Kilometre 4 crossroads in Mogadishu, where two violent incidents involving Somalis have stoked tensions, a French military officer said.

Colonel Jean-Pierre Perouge said the troops did not have instructions sufficient to guarantee their own safety in the event of trouble.

In an interview for state-owned France 2 television, the main warlord in Mogadishu and southern Somalia, General Mohamed Farah Aidid, said he wanted "these men (the legionnaires) replaced by French regular troops."

Aidid said he had put the request to the special French envoy named to Somalia by President Francois Mitterrand, Michel de Bonnecorse, the ambassador to Nairobi.

A Somali woman accused of sleeping with French foreign legionnaires was stripped naked and beaten by a

mob Monday at the site outside the hotel where hundreds of foreign journalists are staying.

The daily Oxa Ogaal Tuesday identified the woman as Leila Hassan Sedik and said she had "confessed to spending Sunday night with the legionnaires."

The paper added that militiamen of Aidid's United Somali Congress (USC) were interrogating the woman, who was Monday reported not to have been badly hurt in the attack, filmed by the world's press.

Perouge denied the accusations against her.

"An enquiry has been carried out and these charges are materially impossible," he told AFP.

Military sources earlier said the legionnaires had simply sought to protect the woman by driving her away from a hostile crowd which then caught up with her.

That incident followed the deaths of two Somalis last week at the same place when their truck smashed through a roadblock set up by legionnaires who opened fire. [passage omitted]

"The legionnaires were the first to arrive here and they disarmed the district," according to Mohamed Jirveh Hussein, owner of the K4 hotel, named for its location. "Many youths who had been fighting until then resent them for it."

"That's why they're accused of being rude, and many stories are going around about their behaviour in Djibouti," Mohamed Jirveh added. "But I must say that I've seen nothing to justify this opinion and they've always been very polite to me." [passage omitted]

Troops Arrive in Baidoa

AB1612080092 Paris AFP in English 0518 GMT 16 Dec 92

[By Francois-Xavier Harispe]

[Text] Baidoa, Somalia, Dec 16 (AFP)—U.S. and French troops drove into the famine-stricken town of Baidoa shortly after dawn Wednesday [16 December] meeting no resistance from the gunmen who have terrorised this bush town for months. No shots have been heard since daybreak in Baidoa and the "technicals", the four-wheel drive vehicles equipped with machine-guns and cannons, had all disappeared. Those Somalis who own guns have hidden them.

Once in Baidoa, the convoy took the road to the airport avoiding the main street which goes right through the town. A big American flag flew from one of the front vehicles while smaller tricolour flags fluttered from the French troop carriers.

U.S. jet fighters overflew Baidoa in the hours before the convoy arrived. The low-altitude flights, at intervals of about four minutes, began around 3:30 a.m. (0130 GMT).

Since 04:00 A.M. three helicopter gunships, two Hueys and a Cobra, have been circling over Baidoa which is nearly 300 kilometers (180 miles) north west of Mogadishu.

The convoy of about 530 U.S. Marines and 130 French legionnaires aboard 70 lorries set off overnight from the Bali Dogle Air Base about 100 kilometers (60 miles) west of the Somali capital.

U.S. special envoy Robert Oakley earlier warned local leaders to keep gunmen off the streets and away from the airport. Almost everyone is armed here.

Aid agencies have complained of an upsurge in attacks by armed looters since the foreign forces landed in Mogadishu last Wednesday [9 December] to protect food for the country's starving millions. Relief efforts have been virtually halted by gunmen who have plundered up to 80 percent of food aid sent here. According to U.N. officials in Mogadishu, up to 1,000 Somalis are starving to death daily in a famine caused by nearly two years of factional fighting and anarchy. Somalia has been without a government, police force, telecommunications or electricity since the bloody overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

French Commander Says Somalis Not Being Disarmed

LD1612113092 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Ford will now be following the soldiers to Baidoa. The distribution of food will be the soldier's primary objective. Christophe Boisbouvier asked Colonel [Bertrand] Bourgain who commands the French legionnaires, the troops who have been sent into this region, whether the American and French troops are going to try to disarm the Somali militias in Baidoa and the surrounding region:

[Begin recording] [Bourgain] Not at all.

[Boisbouvier] And yet this is one of the United Nation's objectives which has been supported by the French Government.

[Bourgain] For the moment we are carrying out the orders given to us by the Americans, as the government—our political leaders, those who sent us here—have told us.

[Boisbouvier] So, for the present you are allowing armed men to circulate in town.

[Bourgain] That is correct. This is very clear.

[Boisbouvier] Without controlling them?

[Bourgain] Without any controls on armed men. Everybody is armed here.

[Boisbouvier] Do you personally understand this sort of order?

[Bourgain] Yes, because if we disarm [the militias] we are not supplying the people. We have to show that we are strong enough so that they are not tempted to harass us. This is what we are doing. This is what justifies this massive deployment and allows us to proceed with supplies to the people. This is our mission. [end recording]

Uganda

Museveni Fetes Visiting Burundian President

EA1512121192 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 0700 GMT 5 Dec 92

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has hailed the cordial relations existing between Uganda and Burundi which, he said, signifies that time has come for Africans to emphasize the bonds that unite rather than divide them. Speaking at a state dinner which was hosted in honor of the visiting Burundi head of state, Major Pierre Buyoya, at Sheraton Hotel in Kampala last night, President Museveni said that specific areas of cooperation in trade, transport, and culture have been identified between Uganda and Burundi and what must be done now is to consolidate this cooperation.

Mr. Museveni noted that economic development of the eastern African subregion in particular and that of Africa in general is the responsibility of the African governments and populations. He said any outside input should be only complementary to these efforts. He said that consolidation of these efforts and cooperation, especially through the PTA [Preferential Trade Area] and the OAU should be aimed at facilitating the unification of the continent. Mr. Museveni emphasized that since the economies of the two countries are still hampered by low levels of industrialization and production of the same raw materials which lead to unfavorable international terms of trade, it's crucial to come together to rationalize production and development of materials and human resources. He said that these will keep the continent in step with other nations of the world.

He said that the NRM [National Resistance Movement] is committed to democratic government and, since it took office in 1986, it has striven to create the environment in which democracy can thrive. On this note, he said, there is a desire to harness the bonds of cooperation

between the two countries in a bid to face the challenges as well as hoping this last decade of the 20th century. [sentence as heard]

President Buyoya, on his part, said that Burundi appreciates the positive strides that have already been taken by the NRM government which have ushered in a period of peace and stability in Uganda. He said that the Republic of Burundi has the same interests and has followed up this initiative by prioritizing on policies that facilitate democratization in the context of the national and international aspirations. He noted that Burundi and Uganda are both partners in a number of regional and continental organizations and his government hopes to consolidate these initiatives through economic cooperation as people of both countries work together to achieve positive aspirations. [passage omitted]

Burundi President Speaks on Democracy

EA1512204792 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1700 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Excerpt] President Pierre Buyoya of Burundi has called for greater unity among African people in order to achieve the democratic process. Addressing members of the African diplomatic corps in Uganda, President Buyoya said Africans must find appropriate solutions to African problems using appropriate means within the African context. He said, without unity, the democratic process which is sweeping the continent cannot be realized.

The Burundi leader said the democratic process in Africa is sometimes difficult and contradictory because the African people are not mature enough to understand democracy. He said it is because of this that instability, insecurity, ethnic conflicts, and divisionism are created. He said only greater unity can reverse this difficult situation. He appealed for regional and sub-regional cooperation amongst African countries, adding that no country can go it alone.

He said Burundi is putting the first priority to national unity and reconciliation by creating a new society with freedom and justice for all. He said its charter on unity gives guidelines on creating unity in every sector of life as a lasting solution to the civil strife caused by ethnic conflicts. President Buyoya said his country is democratizing institutions. [passage omitted]

DP-ANC in Dispute Over Meeting Disruption

MB1612074592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] and the ANC [African National Congress] are locked in dispute over the disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha in Cape Town last night.

Chairs were hurled at speakers and several people were assaulted. The DP says a regional executive member of the ANC was involved and at no time did she attempt to end the violence. Not so, says the western Cape ANC chairman.

[Begin recording] [Western Cape ANC Chairman Allan Boesak] Since earlier today another organization, APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army], has claimed responsibility for what happened there last night. Obviously the ANC condemns any such action wherever it happens because we firmly believe that there should be free political activity anywhere in the country, whether it is in Cape Town or in Bloemfontein or in Ulundi.

[Western Cape DP Chairman Jasper Walsh] There were senior ANC members present. Not a single person lifted a finger to try and stop what happened tonight. Last night, in fact, some of them were involved and clearly were leading the process so we must accept that they were part of a [pauses] that it was a pre-planned exercise and they were part of that planning.

[Boesak] In a country like ours where the wounds of apartheid have not only not healed, but are still being inflicted on people, there will be some quite clear reactions from the community to certain people who come there and then that was the case with Mr. de Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain, it was the case last night with the DP and I suspect we will continue to have that for a little while into the future.

[Walsh] We operate among South Africa's people. We will go back to Khayelitsha. We have a branch established there. The meeting last night was called by our members in that area and we will go back early in the new year. [end recording]

DP Accuses ANC of 'Hypocrisy and Racism'

MB1612115692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1127 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Cape Town Dec 16 SAPA—Democratic Party [DP] reaction to the disruption of a meeting in Khayelitsha outside Cape Town on Monday [14 December] night continued on Wednesday with an MP [Member of Parliament] accusing the African National Congress [ANC] of hypocrisy and racism.

The DPs Ken Andrew was reacting on Wednesday to ANC statements first blaming the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] for the disruption, then apologising to the

PAC and saying political organisations had the right to propagate their own policies.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said however the DP had been "outrageous in its insensitivity" when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Mr Andrew on Wednesday alleged ANC office bearers and supporters had broken up the meeting, during which chairs were reportedly hurled at two DP MPs.

Although Dr Boesak had said the DP had the right to speak, he "immediately gave reasons why the DP should not hold meetings in Khayelitsha".

Mr Andrew said a Ms Nomatyala Hangana, who had been at the meeting, "has the gall to make the racist suggestion that the DP should 'first settle the white areas'".

"Perhaps she is sorry the improper political interference act was repealed so that political parties are not required by law to be racially exclusive."

Dr Boesak said Ms Hangana attended the meeting to try and ensure order after hearing rumours the gathering would be disrupted.

Mr Andrew said Mr Boesak was hypocritical in warning the DP "of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral parliamentary system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Dr Boesak's own ANC regional executive".

The MP said the ANC would be judged in the end by "the actions of its members and supporters—and by the disciplinary steps taken by its office-bearers against those who violate democratic principles as happened in Khayelitsha on Monday night".

PAC Urges UN To Chair New Talks Forum

MB1512150992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1429 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Tuesday [15 December] called on United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali to send a high-powered delegation to South Africa to convene and chair a new negotiations forum.

PAC Secretary for Political Affairs Jaki Seroke said Dr. Butrus-Ghali should also increase the UN observer mission's mandate in South Africa to enable monitors to take measures to prevent violence.

Mr. Seroke was reacting to UNOMSA [United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa] head Angela King's statement that they could not accept the PAC's invitation to visit areas in the Transkei where APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] bases are alleged to exist because they are in South Africa to observe and not investigate.

"There is little sense in the UN presence if they are merely going to compile statistics of deaths through violence," Mr. Seroke said.

He also reiterated the PAC would not allow the Goldstone Commission to investigate the PAC or its armed wing, as they were not involved in "sectarian violence".

"Legitimate armed struggle is not subject to scrutiny. It is a matter for complete transfer of political power and the land to the African people," Mr. Seroke said.

Patriotic Front Supports APLA Judicial Inquiry

MB1512175892 Johannesburg Afrikaans Stereo Radio Network in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The Patriotic Front has expressed its support for Transkei's announcement that it is to order a judicial inquiry into the activities of private armies and the South African Defense Force [SADF], and in particular the Azanian People's Liberation Army's [APLA] bases.

Representatives of the Patriotic Front met in Johannesburg under the chairmanship of ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela to give feedback on the recent bilateral talks with the government and on the recent Frontline States conference in Harare. In a joint statement, they said that any action by the government to ignore the request will be unacceptable. They also said they view Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's recent remarks on cross border attacks on certain targets in the Transkei as unjustified.

Hani 'In Effect' Slams APLA for Attacks

MB1512143192 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1321 GMT 15 Dec 92

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—South African Communist Party [SACP] Chief Chris Hani on Tuesday [15 December] came out clearly in favour of a negotiated settlement to the country's political problems and in effect slammed the Pan Africanist Congress' [PAC] military wing for staging attacks against white civilians.

But he warned that any military attack by South Africa against military-ruled Transkei to root out APLA [African People's Liberation Army] fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

"We do not believe that this is the time to be waging a war when the general feeling in this country is that we must quickly negotiate for a democratic dispensation," Mr. Hani told SAPA in an interview.

Mr. Hani spoke after he attended a meeting of members of the Patriotic Front who engaged the government in talks for a new political order within the Convention of a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the government," the SACP secretary-general said.

"I respect the right of each and every organisation to adopt its own strategies. (But) I think the killing of civilians, blacks or white, should be condemned by all of us."

The PAC military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, claimed responsibility for the attack on a wine-tasting party at King William's Town last month which triggered a fresh row with the government. Four people died and a week later a restaurant in Queenstown was bombed, killing one person.

Last week Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned the government could launch cross-border raids into Zimbabwe and Transkei in pursuit of the alleged attackers.

Zimbabwe has said it has no bases for APLA militants and Transkei has said it is prepared to join an investigation into allegations of APLA's existence in the homeland.

"We are negotiating in this country and we cannot accept the situation where we can go back to the methods that were used before the unbanning of the organisations.

"You can imagine the effects of cross-border raids on the whole process of negotiations and the attempts to end violence in this country," Mr. Hani said in reference to the threat by Mr. Kriel of cross-border military incursions.

African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela chaired the patriotic front meeting on Tuesday, which agreed the political crisis in the country should be speedily resolved through multiparty talks and that the Codesa forum should be revived.

"The meeting was of the view that it is now more than ever urgent that the political crisis in our country be resolved speedily through multilateral negotiations in Codesa," ANC Deputy Secretary-General Jacob Zuma told a news conference, reading a joint statement.

"The meeting agreed that multilateral negotiations in Codesa should resume speedily. To this end Codesa should be restructured to allow for other parties to join in this forum and to ensure that it functions efficiently and with a greater degree of openness to the public".

The PAC, which has shunned Codesa but was an architect of the Patriotic Front [PF], did not attend the talks.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the meeting was for PF members that took part in stalled Codesa talks.

Participants at the talks on Tuesday agreed that there should be a "firm and clear agreement" with regard to time-frames for all phases of the transition to a democratic order.

"In particular, the meeting resolved that elections which establish the constituent assembly and an interim government be held by no later than the end of 1993," Mr. Zuma said.

"The meeting was convinced that this time-scale is achievable and that it would give direction and certainty to the process".

The government has proposed elections for an interim government should be held in early 1994.

Battles for political supremacy have killed more than 6,000 people since President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the ANC and other political organisations in 1990, setting the country on a search for a peaceful co-existence among the race groups.

Patriotic Front on Multiparty Talks, Time Scales

MB1512182892 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Excerpts] The Patriotic Front has expressed its support for Transkei's announcement that it's to order a judicial inquiry into the activities of private armies and the South African Defense Force, and in particular allegations about APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] bases. [passage omitted]

The Patriotic Front parties repeated that multiparty negotiations through Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] should be resumed as soon as possible, and that Codesa should be reconstructed so that other parties could join the negotiation forum.

The parties also agreed it was necessary there should be clear agreement on time scales for all transitional phases to democracy. There should especially be agreement that the election of a constituent assembly and an interim government should be held no later than 1993. The Patriotic Front parties also reassociated themselves with agreements reached so far at Codesa.

Our political news staff reports that neither the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] nor AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] attended the meeting.

Meanwhile, the Secretary General of the South African Communist Party Chris Hani says that although he respects the rights of each organization to adopt its own strategies, he thinks the killing of civilians—black or white—should be condemned. However, Mr. Hani told SAPA in an interview that any military attack by South Africa against military-ruled Transkei to root out APLA fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

Clinton Cabinet Appointments 'Insensitive'

MB1512135392 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 15 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Simon Barber in Washington: "Clinton's 'Mirror Image' of the U.S. is a Warped Vision"]

[Text] In reporting President-elect Bill Clinton's cabinet appointments last week the U.S. media concentrated as much on the race and sex of the nominees as on their qualifications. Clinton, having promised that his team would "reflect America," a country that contains people of both sexes and many races, staged his announcements in such a way as to encourage this emphasis in coverage.

On Thursday [10 December], he unveiled his top economic picks—Senator Lloyd Bentsen for Treasury, Congressman Leon Panetta for budget director, Will Streeter (and generous campaign contributor) Barry Rubin for the new post of National Economic Council chairman. Ail white males Oops. Something had to be done, and it was. Clinton took the unusual step of also announcing their deputies. Panetta's was to be Alice Rivlin, formerly of the Congressional Budget Office.

On Friday, Clinton did more to atone. The health and human services department, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Council of Economic Advisers were all given to women. The altitudinally disadvantaged also got a look in as the diminutive Harvard intellectual Robert Reich, a friend of Clinton's, was tossed [to] the labour department.

That night, the pundits were confidently predicting that the next round of nominations would go to "persons of colour." On Saturday, Clinton duly tapped Democratic Party chairman Ron Brown, who is black, as secretary of commerce. Word was spread that Hispanic Henry Cisneros, former mayor of San Antonio, Texas, would be given housing and urban development.

Clinton thinks he is being "sensitive" and is contriving to have the world applaud. In truth, he is being quite the opposite, though few will say so for fear of being branded "insensitive." By announcing that he wants an administration that "reflects America" in terms of characteristics its people are born with, he is saying that his basis for selection is not so much the content of character or accomplishment as externals, and is thus axiomatically degrading all his appointments.

Blacks, above all, are being obliged to continue living under the stigma of suspicion that their elevation is due solely to the white man's condescension. The suspicion is accentuated by the fact that administration jobs that really matter—Treasury, state and defence—will all, as usual, end up in white male hands now that Gen Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a man of unsurpassed calibre, has dropped from the running for state.

The pharisaic "sensitivity" of Clinton and so many others, and what it implies about the real state of race

relations in this country, goes some way to explaining the current resurrection of Malcolm X. Spike Lee's newly released biopic and the Hollywood megahype that preceded it are not the only reasons "X" T-shirts, caps and other paraphernalia are selling like hot cakes all over the country.

Malcolm X's insight, lost in the hysteria provoked by the violence of his rhetoric and his murder in 1965, was this: equal rights, integration, affirmative action, hiring quotas, all the demands of the traditional civil rights movement, would not save black Americans from second class citizenship, marginalisation and being beaten by Los Angeles police officers—indeed, they would keep them there—without one extra, critical, ingredient. Dignity.

Malcolm X had no time for Martin Luther King and his followers because he believed they were letting the white establishment off the hook by allowing the victim-oppressor relationship to continue. Therein, he said, lay the hypocrisy of the civil rights era: "You pretend that you're my brother, and I pretend that I really believe you believe I'm your brother."

Who, after all, was granting and extending the previously denied rights and agreeing to integrate his schools, factories and public places? The white man. And who was meekly doing the forgiving for generations of brutality in return for access to the plantation house? The black man, who thus allowed himself to remain an object, if no longer of neglect and outright cruelty, then of compassion and its corollary, condescension.

Partisans of King, and of the Christian tradition, would say there is dignity in forgiveness and turning the other cheek.

Malcolm X, who converted to Islam while serving a nine-year sentence for robbery that changed his life, disagreed. "The blue-eyed devil" must first be made to respect, otherwise he would remain at heart a contemptuous alms-giver.

Hence the language of hate and violence. "If we have a funeral in Harlem, make sure they have one downtown, too," he would say. Dangerous talk, but largely metaphorical, designed to send a simple message to whites. As the black writer Shelby Steele, author of *The Content of Character*, recently summed it up: "We are human enough to want to kill you for what you have done to us. How does it feel to have people you have never paid much attention to want to kill you?"

The message was aimed at blacks as well, telling them they should be as prepared to fight and die for their freedoms as whites were. Steele again: "Many times (Malcolm) told his audiences that whites would not be ready to respect them unless they used 'any means necessary' to seize freedom. For a minority outnumbered 10 to one this was not rational. But it was a point that needed to be made in the name of dignity. It was something that many blacks needed to feel about themselves, that there was a line no one could cross."

Dignity, Malcolm X knew, was not something that could simply be granted from outside. It also had to come from within.

He adamantly believed that to obtain the unconditional respect of whites, blacks would have to begin by respecting themselves.

His childhood was rough, though not in the way portrayed in the film. His father was a womaniser who moved from job to job and was often violent with his children. After the old man's death, the boy was taken from his mother by a state welfare agency. He spent his early adult life as a street hustler with a taste for white women and cocaine. Then came jail and transformation.

Fired up by the teachings of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, the man who emerged was a burning ascetic, convinced that inner dignity could come only from total self-mastery, and he was scrupulous in his adherence to the Koran's strictures against drugs, alcohol, tobacco, adultery and extra-marital sex—a puritanism Spike Lee explicitly contrasts in the film to King's less than monkish behaviour. His thoughts on family values, women and homosexuality were decidedly incorrect by present standards. He lived humbly, breaking with the Black Muslims as much over their misuse of funds as over their leader's serial infidelities.

With self-mastery, self-help to the point of separatism. Malcolm X was an unabashed black nationalist. Blacks, he insisted, would never be accorded full equality unless they were respected, and respected themselves, for what they were, what they knew—in prison he became a voracious reader—and what they had achieved. He therefore sneered at government programmes, including passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, seeing them as a white con trick to keep the black man in his place, servile to the ministrations of white liberals.

"A hungry man will dislike you if you refuse to give him help," he once said. "He will hate you if you promise help and give him a cheque that bounces." Since the '60s, the U.S. has signed many cheques, and most of them have bounced. Malcolm X would say this was because they were never written in the right currency: dignity. Clinton's performance this past week is just another case in point.

Safair Denies Leasing Russian Aircraft

MB1512175992 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The South African cargo carrier, Safair, has strongly denied allegations by the Zimbabwean Government that it intends leasing Russian aircraft for military purposes. This follows a protest made by Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira over an aircraft agreement signed between Safair and a Russian company, which he maintains is breaching the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

Reacting to the allegations, a Safair spokesman categorically denied any links with the South African Government. He said although an aviation agreement had been signed, it was purely on a commercial basis and no deals have yet been finalized to bring Russian aircraft into the country.

ANC Military Wing Training Abroad Detailed

*MB1612110392 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
14 Dec 92 p 1*

[Report by Johan van Wyk and Gallie van Rensburg: "10,000 MKs Being Trained—Conventional Warfare Being Learned in Uganda, Tanzania"]

[Text] More than 10,000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK], the ANC's [African National Congress] military wing, among them a number of white recruits, are at present being trained in conventional warfare at bases in Uganda and Tanzania.

According to informed sources, some of them are being trained for MiG-15 fighter planes at Nakasangola Camp in Uganda by instructors from Libya and Ethiopia. The camp accommodates about 1,000 MK members.

In the other camps courses are believed to provide artillery, tank, infantry, anti-aircraft, radar, engineering, and missile training. The instructors are said to consist of MK members from Uganda, Tanzania, North Korea, and even Eastern Europe.

At the same time non-commissioned officer, as well as officer, courses up to the levels of captain and major are being offered at several camps such as that as Jinja in Bomba, Uganda.

The cream of MK cadres who have passed the courses in the two African countries are then sent to Nigeria and India for senior officer courses. These courses are apparently as good as similar courses offered in the South African Defense Force [SADF].

According to military strategists, this training in conventional warfare is aimed at raising MK's standards to match those of the SADF should MK be integrated in future. This theory was confirmed by MK Chief of Staff Siphiwe Nyanda in the latest issue of the ANC magazine, MAYIBUYE. He told the magazine that he sees MK as one of the building blocks of a future defense force in a democratic South Africa.

MK is a guerrilla army which is transforming itself into a conventional army. Officers are being trained so that MK "can make an impression," he says. The officer training being provided is for the army, the air force, and the navy, and includes non-commissioned officers, junior, and senior officers.

According to reliable sources, the ANC has continued its aggressive recruitment campaign in the second half of this year. More than 1,100 recruits have been flown to

Uganda and Tanzania since July, at a cost of about 170,000 rands per chartered flight for 150 recruits.

This has brought the number of ANC members being trained there to more than 10,000 (about 7,000 in Uganda and 4,000 in Tanzania), and many more are being recruited in South Africa daily, it is reported.

According to information in BEELD's possession, there are at least 15 bases in Uganda and Tanzania where MK members are taken through courses from ordinary schooling up to advanced weapons and officer courses. The Ugandan and Tanzanian defense forces are reportedly closely involved in the training of MK members, and they share several bases. The two countries also provide much logistical assistance. The Uganda defense force, for example, is totally responsible for the ANC's logistics in that country.

It is also reported that the Organization of African Unity's Liberation Committee provides large sums of money to the ANC for training. According to BEELD's sources, Libya and North Korea are the most important donors of weapons.

RSA Urged To Return KaNgwane to Swaziland

MB1512204992 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Pro-unification Swazis in the kaNgwane homeland have called on the South African Government to return the homeland to the greater Swaziland because it was illegally taken. During a meeting of Insika yaMswati Party [Mswati's Pillar Party] held at Enhlazatshe Crossing, the Swazis resolved to hold a big meeting next year to discuss the border adjustment issue. They resolved that they don't want to abandon Swazi culture and custom.

During the meeting the Swazis, all members of Insika yaMswati, discussed that the United Nations gave money to the kaNgwane homeland authorities for use in the homeland to fight drought, but that money is not properly used, and Inyandza [United Party] is claiming that the money came from their pockets. It was resolved that in 1988 Inyandza Party misled the members of the Insika Party and are intending to do it again next year during the elections in the homeland.

Union Against Seven-Day Week for Mineworkers

MB1612080492 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] The National Union of Mine Workers [NUM], has warned the government that it's heading for confrontation if it allows mines to switch to a seven-day operation. The organization said in a statement that such a step should involve negotiations with unions. It said that mine experts agreed that South African mine workers

spent too much time underground, namely up to 50 hours a week, compared with less than 35 hours in other major mining countries. It added that safety and health could be compromised if supervision standards were not maintained over weekends.

The mines want to change to a seven-day working week in an attempt to save jobs in the troubled mining industry.

15 December Review of Current Events, Issues

MB1512140192

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Holomisa-Buthelezi 'Slanging Match'—The "slanging match" between Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party "is a classic case of the pot calling the kettle black," says a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 15 December. Neither man has "advanced the national debate one iota." "Their sniping at each other—from the bunkers of their personal fiefdoms—typifies much of what has passed for politics in South Africa during the past year. Matters must improve next year. The catharsis of 1992 may have been necessary, but there is no need for the nation to put up with gratuitous belligerence forever."

CITY PRESS

Law, Order Minister 'Beating the War Drums'—Referring to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's threats of military action against Transkei and Zimbabwe, Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 13 December says: "For SA to be beating the war drums at a time when the subcontinent needs peace more than anything else is unacceptable and unjustifiable. Is it more than a coincidence that Kriel's threats against Zimbabwe come at a time when that country has been making claims that SA has violated its airspace several times in recent weeks?" CITY PRESS suggests that "to preserve his own image, F.W. de Klerk must rein in hawks like Kriel who are spoiling for unnecessary confrontation."

16 December Review of Current Events, Issues

MB1612122892

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

PAC Must Impose Talks/War Decision on APLA—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 December in a page 8 editorial remarks that the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, Johnson Mlambo let it be known in an interview with the paper that he "was relieved of his APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] post" of commander-in-chief in April, "and that there is no commander-in-chief at this point. Most convenient

that—and unpleasantly reminiscent of certain Government ministers who desert portfolios just before major scandals are exposed." Reading "between the lines" of Johnson's remarks "it appears that the PAC leadership believes APLA is responsible for the new campaign, but knows very little about it." "We believe most South Africans are tired of the PAC's artless sophistry. The organisation's leaders must decide whether they want to negotiate, or fight. And they must impose their decision on APLA, their bloodthirsty creation."

SOUTH

NP More Urgent About Negotiations—Cape Town SOUTH in English for 5-9 December says in its page 6 editorial that the National Party leaders, "with their timetable for elections, they're saying to the generals: Clean up, quick, the journey is now underway—and we don't want dirty hands upon arrival. At long last, it appears that the Nats have realised they can no longer keep on delaying. The longer they're in the ring, the more bloodied they become. And a new ref called Bill Clinton will soon be doing the counting."

TRANSVALER

White-Only Conscription Unjust—Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 10 December points out in a page 8 editorial that "a reduced foreign threat and the shortage of funds has made a scaling-down of the South African Defense Force [SADF] inevitable. Unfortunately the domestic situation is so explosive that well trained and disciplined security forces are still necessary to stop the war between factions from becoming a full-blown civil war. Already the police have to spend so much time on unrest prevention that crime prevention is being scaled down. Without the support of the SADF their task would be impossible. Therefore the steps announced by the SADF to make it more flexible are to be welcomed. Young volunteers of all races will be given the opportunity to do voluntary military service for a period of 2 to 10 years." "This is hopefully the first step in the phasing out of the present unjust system which makes it compulsory only for whites to serve in the defense force."

Criticism of Private, Civil Service Fraud—A page 8 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 11 December says: "Recently the government has come under harsh criticism—and justly so—for fraud, corruption, and other irregularities in the civil service. The time has come, however, for similarly harsh criticism for malpractices within the private sector." The Office of Serious Economic Offenses is investigating fraud cases involving amounts of "about 350 billion rand—an amount equal to the annual gross domestic product. Fortunately there are signs that the business sector is itself giving urgent attention to this issue. The Institute of Directors has already set up a task force to try to prevent such activities." "Everyone, from the highest

to the lowest, must be involved to prevent South Africa, which is already sinking in several areas, from becoming a gangster land."

Farmers' Debt Cannot Be Written Off—A second editorial on the same page notes the "sympathy" for the farmers, who have been hit by one of the worst and longest droughts in memory. Estimates show "up to 5,000 farmers will lose their farms and means of living. The downturn in their industry has far-reaching effects. It has an almost disastrous influence on the whole South African economy and job provision. Nevertheless, the government cannot but refuse to write off farmers' debt of about 1.200 million rand owed to the state. Farming is not the only sector of the economy which has been hard hit. The disturbing number of liquidations of companies and closed corporations are testimony to this. It would therefore be unfair to only write off the farmers' debt, especially as for a number of years now the industry has been heavily subsidized."

BEELD

Holomisa's Destabilizing Politics—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 14 December views in a page 14 editorial that "The TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states are one of the problems which will have to be addressed in a future constitutional dispensation. At present they represent a mixture of stubbornness and despotism which will certainly not facilitate

their reincorporation." Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa "is a case in point. His actions make it clear that on the one hand these leaders want to be totally independent, while on the other hand they claim the right to interfere in South Africa's affairs. Gen. Holomisa complains loudly because the finger is pointing at his country as a purported patron of APLA, the PAC military wing." Gen. Holomisa should "rather concentrate on finding out what is happening in his own country and not cause problems in the broader negotiation process which includes national states and homelands. His ANC [African National Congress] allies should call him, the PAC, and APLA to their senses, because they are playing with fire with their present challenging, destabilizing brand of politics."

Correction: BEELD on Rationalization Plan MB1512142192

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "More on Rationalization Program," published in the 15 December Sub Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, page 19

Page 19, column two, paragraph nine, only sentence please make read: "...units of the part-time [deeltydse] forces, 29 units of the full-time [voltydse] forces, and 3 commandos...", supplying vernacular.

Angola

UNITA Points for Ending 'Spectre of War'

MB1512132592 (Clandestine) Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Station commentary: "It Is Wrong and Unacceptable To Distort the Peace Accords"]

[Text] No one has the right to distort the peace accords, thereby endangering all the basic agreements signed in Bicesse on 31 May 1991. The issues of the cease-fire; the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the government enjoying 50 percent parity each; and the holding of free, fair, and honest elections are of highest importance, and are even the pillars of the entire Angolan peace process.

The signatories, the observer countries—notably the United States—and the United Nations have the duty to ensure that the spirit and letter of the accords are complied with. What we are witnessing now are major distortions and systematic violations of what was agreed on in Bicesse, all with the aim of securing advantages that will ensure hegemony within the country. Through the chief of General Staff of its forces, the government has committed serious violations of the entire peace process. The United States and the United Nations must not endorse this paramount fact. Any weakness or emotional behavior could encourage aggression and lead to disastrous consequences in the country. The situation must be corrected and peace must be preserved.

UNITA is fully committed to immediate peace throughout Angolan territory. That is why the cities of Uige and Negage have been handed over to the government so it can restore its administration there. That was a very harsh measure, if one takes into account the situation in the country. In view of the fact that conditions have been restored for UNITA and the government to resume talks, both sides must meet as soon as possible, so that the agenda drawn up at the Namibe meeting can be concluded and peace made more secure. The much vaunted peace accords must be complied with. That meeting must be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

It is necessary that the government stop attacking UNITA committees and massacring UNITA officials, with the mere intention of putting an end to popular (?support) for UNITA, thereby (?favoring) the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] candidate in the second round of presidential elections. The United Nations must organize, verify, and control the upcoming elections, while keeping the cease-fire alive through the intervention of UN forces.

These are eleven points that will lead to peace:

1. Reaffirming the importance of the peace accords;

2. Returning to the joint mechanisms that have been established for supervising the implementation of the peace accords. The Angolan Government, UNITA, the U.S., Russian, and Portuguese governments, and the United Nations are all part of those mechanisms. Such mechanisms include:

A) The Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM];

B) The Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF];

3. With Uige and Negage returned to state administration, direct talks must resume in line with the decisions made in Namibe;

4. A broad UN-supervised cease-fire must be established by reviving those joint mechanisms;

5. Assuring the release of all prisoners, including the UNITA officers, militants, and sympathizers that the government detained in Luanda, and who are being kept in so-called protective custody;

6. Working with the United Nations so the UN forces can intervene in Angola for peace. Those forces will have the following specific mission:

A) Verifying the implementation of the cease-fire accord;

B) Assuring the safety of the UNITA peace negotiators, and UNITA officials participating in the Angolan Parliament and Government;

C) Helping form the Angolan Army;

D) Helping with the formation of a unified police force that will be based on parity of forces;

E) Safeguarding the lives and safety of those citizens supporting opposition parties;

F) Organizing and supervising the second round of presidential elections, as well as defining the status of and security mechanism for President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the UNITA candidate;

G) Allowing UNITA to rebuild its Political Commission and to develop its negotiation framework;

8. [number as heard] The United Nations must assure the safety of UNITA's people in Luanda, once they have been released and assure the safety of those officials who will go to Luanda to participate in Parliament and the government of national unity;

9. Assuring that the participation of political parties in a government of national unity will be in accordance with the political support they enjoy, as demonstrated through the electoral process and agreed on after consultations. This would help strengthen the process of national reconciliation;

10. Making it abundantly clear that the United States and the United Nations will stand against any attempt to

establish a government by means of force, or to stay in power by means of eliminating political opposition;

11. Making it clear that only a government of Angola will be recognized by the international community, as long as it arises from the outcome of the electoral process defined in the accords, including the second round of presidential elections.

UNITA is ready to end the specter of war in the lives of Angolan people. UNITA is willing to cooperate with the MPLA for real reconciliation among the Angolan people. That is a prerequisite for progress in this country. All our efforts shall be for the cause of the fatherland. UNITA is a permanent and essential factor in the existence of multiparty democracy.

Long live democracy!

Long live national reconciliation!

Radio: UNITA Troops Still in Uige, Negage

MB1612065292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] The UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [Unavem-2] has promised it will verify and control the movement of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops back to their confinement points in the cities of Uige and Negage.

The Angolan Government is still waiting for Unavem-2 to confirm that UNITA soldiers have withdrawn from those two cities. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola forces are still occupying Uige and Negage at this time, and have not yet taken any positive steps toward evacuating those two urban centers.

Meanwhile, General Edward Onimna, head of the Unavem-2 team to Angola, left Luanda yesterday for his country. Gen. Unima was in our country for 14 months. He will be replaced by Chris Garba, another Nigerian general, at a date to be announced. Gen. Onimna left Angola expressing the hope that a solution will be found to the current crisis.

UNITA Radio Reports MPLA Troop Movements in Lunda Norte

MB1512210092 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The Jose Eduardo dos Santos government is still bent on war in order to destabilize our young democracy. Reports from Dundo District, Lunda Norte Province, say that since 14 December the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA] has been moving armored cars, T-55 tanks, BMP-21 rocket launchers, BMP-1 armored cars, and other vehicles into the city of Dundo. The war equipment is being

withdrawn from the former People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] assembly point in Lucapa District.

In addition to that, an Antonov and a Casa, flying from Luanda between 12 and 14 December, airlifted FAPLA troops wearing the uniforms of the Angolan Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

MiG and SU-25 bombers of the People's Air Force of Angola yesterday overflowed the city of Namibe. Reports say that the aircraft, which flew at low altitude, created panic among the residents. Dangerous raids [preceding word in English] have been carried out by combat aircraft flying from the Namibe Air Force Base in a northerly direction.

More than the two battalions of Eduardo dos Santos government's reserve army in Cunene Province have been deployed in the former South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] base at (Gungana). The units are led by Major (Nasuca), and their mission is to act as a cover for SWAPO troops entering Angola from Namibia. The two battalions, using civilian vehicles, are carrying long-range artillery pieces. [passage omitted]

Government, UNITA Meet in Cuando Cubango

MB1412154592 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Text] Over the weekend in Menongue, Cuando Cubango Province, officials from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the government held a meeting to reduce the atmosphere of mutual distrust prevailing in the province. The signatories to the Bicesse Accords met to discuss a number of issues, including the maintenance of an atmosphere of peace in Cuando Cubango Province, particularly in the city of Menongue, and the free movement of people and goods along the roads linking Menongue to Huambo and Bie Provinces.

The meeting took place in a frank and cordial atmosphere, with the parties agreeing that they should not resort to war to resolve their problems. The head of the UNITA delegation to the meeting, General Breke, took the opportunity to protest against the government's distribution of weapons to the people, the increasing crime wave on the outskirts of the city of Menongue carried out by the riot police, the recruiting of demobilized soldiers, and the creation of the Angolan Armed Forces without the participation of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola as provided for in the Bicesse Accords.

The parties proposed that a meeting between UNITA and the government be attended by the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 and Menongue Diocese Bishop Don Queiroz Alves, with the same purpose of avoiding the resumption of war in Cuando Cubango Province, particularly at this period when the general political and

military situation in the country favors the resumption of dialogue between the government and UNITA.

UNITA, MPLA Hold 'Cordial' Meet in Luena

MB1212145392 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Delegations of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] met in the city of Luena, Moxico Province, on 11 December. The meeting was attended by the Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] and the UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem]-2. The agenda of the meeting included the movement of people and goods on the Luena-Saurimo road and security in the city of Luena, particularly at the airport.

Our Luena correspondent reports that the meeting was held in a cordial atmosphere. The participants agreed to remove the control posts erected by the riot police, thus permitting the free movement of people and goods. A commission, involving the CMVF and Unavem-2, has been established in order to deal with abnormal situations.

Regarding security at the airport and in the city in general, the two sides agreed that it should be the responsibility of the National Police. Weapons, including armored vehicles deployed in Luena, will be monitored weekly.

UNITA Said Deploying Troops in Cuanza Sul

MB1412140192 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The political and military situation in Cuanza Sul Province has been described as calm. Police Superintendent Antonio Baptista Vaz says that there have been daily movements by troops of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA].

[Begin Vaz recording] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has been deploying its military personnel and equipment in the Uacu Cungo District. UNITA's aims have not been clarified yet. UNITA has deployed a further 200 armed troops in Catofe Commune and in [words indistinct]. UNITA has also been deploying more troops in Ebo in order to create panic and confusion among the residents.

Government administration has been withdrawn from Sumbe District. Large numbers of enemy troops from Canjala have been deployed in that district. Their aim has not yet been revealed.

Arms caches, including weapons which are not part of the equipment used to defend UNITA officials and installations, have been found. Long-range weapons

have been found and they do not conform with what had been agreed upon in the Joint Political and Military Commission.

Why does UNITA need those weapons if we want peace in terms of the peace accords? UNITA intends to carry out a number of actions in Cuanza Sul Province, including the annihilation of the residents, particularly party members and officials. [end recording]

In Huila Province's Hoque District, UNITA is still engaged in a manhunt campaign. FALA troops have banned the residents from listening to Radio Nacional de Angola. They have also abducted and raped young girls from (Quiamba) settlement. [passage omitted]

UNITA Agrees To Withdraw From Zaire Province

MB1312073492 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] The government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] have agreed to reinstate government authority in the Districts of Sumba and Soyo and other locations of Zaire Province held by Jonas Savimbi's organization. At a meeting in Soyo, the two sides agreed to create conditions for the free movement of people and goods. The meeting also agreed on the demilitarization of both sides. UNITA agreed to return (?buildings) and the government guaranteed that it would release UNITA representatives detained during the clashes in Soyo, security conditions permitting.

'Tense' Situation in Cunene Province Reported

MB1612081392 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Cunene Province is experiencing a very tense military situation. The governmental forces are carrying out dangerous military maneuvers in that province. A reliable source reports a powerful heavy artillery position has been set up in Ondjiva and Xangongo by the Riot Police, adding all weapons are pointing at the homes of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] militants.

The heavy war materiel includes T-62 tanks and BMP-1 armored cars. Those vehicles are moving in the streets of the city [as heard] and creating panic among the people.

UNITA Warns of FAPLA 'Terrorism' in Andulo

MB1212150692 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Andulo District, Bie Province, will be exposed to a dangerous situation over the next few days. There have been large-scale movements by People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] and riot police personnel equipped with war materiel. Those units

intend to carry out terrorist activities against Andulo residents. A reliable source says that large quantities of lethal weapons, including long-range guns and [words indistinct] have been sent from the city of Bie to that district.

Situation Reportedly Returns to Normal in Bie

MB1112174792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The political and military situation has returned to normal in the city of Kuito, Bie Province, but there are rumors that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is carrying out a manhunt on the outskirts of the city. The police and UNITA have already exchanged prisoners but have not yet exchanged weapons seized during weekend clashes. As a result of this situation, the people do not feel safe [words indistinct] to work. Bie Provincial Police Commander Joao Cipriano spoke about the situation. He began by referring to the exchange of prisoners:

[Cipriano] "On the day we issued a communique on the prevailing situation in Bie Province, we carried out an exchange of prisoners [words indistinct] and on the government side, we received three of our comrades, including a sergeant. So far, we have no information regarding other prisoners. The police are ready to carry out investigation at the level of the pilot committees, our prisons, and so on, to know the identity of the people involved and thus be able to carry out a mutual exchange of prisoners."

The Bie provincial police commander said once it has evidence, the police will severely punish UNITA elements who hunt people down. He also said the police will only return weapons seized from UNITA if this organization hands over police weapons.

[Cipriano] "We received the information and we are carrying out work in this direction. We are equally carrying out the work of a subcommission established by us. We are visiting wards in order to calm the people because the information we have is that some UNITA sympathizers are moving about under the cover of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola. They are dressed in civilian clothes but armed [words indistinct] to give an adequate response.

"Regarding weapons, during the Camacupa incident, a police landrover was seized by UNITA with a large quantity of weapons. We shall, therefore, have to negotiate. UNITA weapons will only be returned by the police when it returns our weapons, the landrover, and the (?motorcycle) now in Catabola."

OAU Urges UNITA To Abandon Armed Struggle

MB1212135992 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1100 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] The secretary general of the OAU says UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] should abandon its armed struggle in Angola. Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity Salim Ahmed Salim has been interviewed by a Luanda-based newspaper.

He describes as unacceptable statements by UNITA leaders that the movement's military commanders are acting on their own in their attacks on government troops. Salim says a high-level delegation which includes himself, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, and Cape Verdian President Antonio Mascarenhas will soon be visiting Angola to help resolve the crisis.

Sao Tomean Official on Failure To Meet Savimbi

MB1612102492 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Interview with Sao Tomean Foreign Minister Albertino Braganca by unidentified People's Television of Angola reporter in Luanda on 15 December—first two paragraphs are studio introduction; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Angolan Prime Minister Marcolino Moco today granted a 30-minute audience to Sao Tomean Foreign Minister Albertino Braganca, who has come to our country in his capacity as coordinator of the five Lusophone African countries, and his mission is to help Angolans reach political understanding. Braganca delivered a message to Marcolino Moco from Norberto Costa Alegre, his Sao Tomean counterpart.

At the end of the meeting, the People's Television of Angola approached Albertino Braganca, who disclosed he had already been in contact with several political parties, but will not be meeting the leader of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], or his representatives.

[Braganca] "In principle, we will meet with all Angolan parties represented in the Angolan capital. Our mission ends on 17 December. We have much to do, and this morning we have already met the leader of the Angolan Democratic Forum. Our agenda includes contacts with other political forces represented in the Angolan capital.

[Reporter] "Thus, the possibility of a meeting with Jonas Savimbi must be excluded?"

[Braganca] "UNITA is not represented in the Angolan capital."

Clinton Expected To Recognize MPLA

MB1112164292 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 11-17 Dec 92 p 8

[Report by Arthur Gavshon: "Savimbi in the cold as Clinton plans US policy somersault"]

[Text] The United States State Department expects president-elect Bill Clinton to recognise, and establish relations with, Angola's MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government soon after taking office next month.

This would mark the failure of a major American foreign policy bid to back UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi's thrust for power launched when Angola became independent in 1975—a venture that has cost hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives.

In a related development, U.S., British and United Nations authorities have quietly been investigating the origins and organisers of a widely-reported South Africa airlift of supplies into territory controlled by Savimbi's rebels. Specifically they have been trying to establish if the operation has Pretoria's backing or whether "rogue" elements within the South African Defence Force have teamed up with entrepreneurs and mercenaries.

"We're inclined to accept official South African disavowals of involvement," one British Foreign Office source said. Then he added: "There are lots of interests in Angola with diamonds to pay people off for services being rendered."

The emerging shift in Washington's attitude toward one of Africa's most strategic Atlantic seaboard states was reported by a U.S. State Department specialist in African affairs who keeps in regular contact with the Clinton transition team now based in Little Rock, Arkansas.

In a telephonic interview the informant said: "Recognition of the government of President Jose dos Santos has been on the cards since the MPLA won the September multiparty elections with nearly 58 percent of the vote—a vote pronounced by international observers to have been fairly conducted. Even a Bush administration would have to acknowledge this and also the fact that Savimbi has been 99 percent of the problem plaguing Angola still."

The "Savimbi problem" to which the U.S. State Department official referred has been creating military as well as diplomatic mayhem.

UNITA forces have been advancing in several provinces taking previously MPLA-held towns; their escalating offensive has been denounced publicly by the U.S. State Department as a breach of the 1991 Bicesse peace pact and of their promises to abide by a ceasefire.

On the diplomatic front South Africa has again been sucked into the situation. The coincidence in timing between UNITA's offensive and the privatised or state-blessed South African airlift has attracted international attention and suspicion. Besides Angola itself, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia have all accused South Africa not only of penetrating their air space but also of resupplying Savimbi's forces—charges Pretoria has denied. There have been unconfirmed reports from Harare claiming that the SADF's [South African Defense Force] Buffalo (32) Battalion, made up largely of Angolans, has been sent into UNITA territory by elements in charge of the SADF's special forces.

Against this overall background the failed role assumed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Angola's renewed strife has come under international scrutiny and has yielded some ironic comments.

Botha told the SUNDAY STAR in a question-and-answer interview—reprinted verbatim in the LONDON FINANCIAL TIMES as an advertisement paid for by the South African government—that: "Governments both in Europe and Africa asked South Africa to act as a facilitator in the Angola peace process. I believe this [is] indicative of an acceptance of the positive role that we have played and can play in Africa generally and in the southern region of the continent specifically. We regard it as a privilege to be able to do so."

A senior political authority in London, noting that the British government is incumbent president of the European Community, said in answer to a question: "We did not ask for South Africa's help in Angola."

In Harare, Zimbabwean government officials claimed Pretoria had advised Savimbi that he has until January 20—the day Clinton is due to be inaugurated as president—to win power, or at least a big chunk of it, in Angola; otherwise he could be effectively sidelined by the new administration's formal recognition of the Dos Santos government.

In Luanda, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, elements of the Angolan government have been "deliberately blackmailing" South Africa. That was cited as one reason why Pretoria has pulled its diplomatic mission out of the country.

And in Washington one veteran Africanist in Clinton's transition team observed drily: "Perhaps when the South Africans were being asked to facilitate the Angolan peace process they were being asked politely to keep out of the way and not interfere." That informant declined to be identified.

Envoy to UN Conveys 'Indignation' to RSA Envoy

MB1112140092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Afonso van Dunem Mbinda, the Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, met his South African

counterpart at the UN headquarters in New York yesterday. He conveyed the Angolan Government's indignation about continued South African aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Mbinda said that if South Africa is interested in a climate of peace for southern Africa, it should assume a clear stance regarding the reconciliation processes in this region. In reply, the South African ambassador denied any South African involvement or military aid to UNITA.

Government, UNITA Meet in Cuando Cubango

MB1112135292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 11 December 92

[Text] In Cuando Cubango Province yesterday, the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] examined ways to dismantle UNITA control points along the roads linking the city of Menongue to Huambo and Huila Provinces. The meeting, which is part of regular sessions between the government and UNITA in the province, also discussed the movement of goods and people in different districts of Cuando Cubango.

Huila Provincial Governor Domingos Hungo "SKS" denied reports that the government is preparing an attack on UNITA in the Province [words indistinct] to Huambo where the government and UNITA yesterday decided to establish a joint political commission which must work with the military commission to reestablish state administration in the province. The government and UNITA will also work together to resolve the problem of the occupation of houses by UNITA.

The meeting examined in depth [words indistinct] situation in the province, particularly political, military, and economic issues. On economic issues, [words indistinct] looting of warehouses and shops during the clashes of 29 and 30 November in Huambo Province.

Newspaper Names Cabinet Officials

MB1412122292 Johannesburg O SECULO in Portuguese 7 Dec 92 p 26

[Unattributed report: "Government Composition"]

[Excerpts] The first government of the Second Republic of Angola led by Marcolino Moco will have 21 ministries and seven secretariats of state, with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] holding the culture portfolio. [passage omitted]

Ministries:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Prime Minister | Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco |
| Defense | Pedro Maria Tonha "Pedale" (from previous government) |
| Deputy | General Pedro Sebastiao |
| Deputy | To be designated by UNITA |

| | |
|--|---|
| Interior | General Andre Pitra "Petroff" |
| Deputy | Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos "Nando" (from previous government) |
| Finance | Salomao Jose Neto ("Xirimibi") |
| Foreign Affairs | Venancio de Moura (former deputy) |
| Deputy | Jorge Chicotti (Angolan Democratic Forum [FDA], UNITA dissident) |
| Deputy | Joao Bernardo Miranda (from previous government) |
| Justice | Paulo Chipilica (FDA, UNITA dissident) |
| Deputy | Manuel Miguel Costa Aragao |
| Territorial Administration | Antonio Paulo Cassoma (from previous government) |
| Deputy | Pereira Joao Baptista ("Cussumua") |
| Petroleum | Albino Faria Assis (former National Angolan Fuel Company vice chairman) |
| Deputy | Desiderio da Graca Verissimo Costa (from previous government) |
| Education | Joao Manuel Bernardo (former Malange Province governor) |
| Deputy | Artur da Silva Julio |
| Health | Martinho Sanches Epalanca (former deputy health minister) |
| Deputy | Francisco Carlos Mendes (Angola National Liberation Front) |
| Fisheries | Maria de Fatima Monteiro Jardim (from previous government) |
| Deputy | Joao Manuel Caolo (Social Renovated Party) |
| Public Administration, Unemployment and Social Welfare | Antonio Domingos Pitra Costa Neto (former adviser) |
| Deputy | Eduardo Severino Moraes |
| Industry | Isalino Manuel Mendes (without a past in politics) |
| Deputy | Jose Duque |
| Agriculture | Isaac Francisco Maria Anjos (from previous government) |
| Deputy | To be appointed by UNITA |
| Deputy | Jose Amaro Tati (from previous government) |
| Youth and Sport | Justino Jose Fernandes (former industry minister) |
| Deputy | Jose da Rocha Sardinha Castro (from previous government) |
| Transport and Communications | Andre Luis Brandao (from previous government) |
| Deputy | Amadeu Cesario Santos Neves (Democratic Renewal Party [PRD]) |

| | |
|--|---|
| Deputy | Licinio Tavares Ribeiro (from previous government) |
| Commerce and Tourism | Emanuel Moreira Carneiro (former minister of planning) |
| Deputy | Paulino Matista Molele (without a past in politics) |
| Social Assistance Reintegration (formerly Social Assistance State Secretariat) | Norberto Fernandes Santos (former Lunda Norte Province governor) |
| Deputy | To be appointed by UNITA |
| Deputy | Malungo (as published) |
| Public Works and Urbanization | Mateus Morais Brito Junior (without a past in politics) |
| Deputy | Gilberto Gomes Mamede |
| Deputy | To be appointed by UNITA |
| Culture (ministry for the first time ever) | To be appointed by UNITA |
| Deputy | Adelino Peito (former state secretary for culture) |
| Geology and Mines (former state secretariat) | Jose Domingos Dias |
| Deputy | Moises Chingongo |
| Social Communication (former Information Ministry) | Jose Patricio (ambassador to the Organization of African States in Washington) |
| Deputy | Pedro Hendrick Vaal Neto |
| State Secretariats: | |
| Women's Promotion and Development | Joana Lima Ramos Baptista (from previous government) |
| Cooperation | Johni Pinoc |
| Environment | Manuel David Mendes (Angola Youth, Worker, and Peasant Alliance Party) |
| Coffee | Gilberto Buta Lutukuta |
| Housing | Miguel Correia (former deputy labor minister) |
| Energy and Water | Joao Moreira Pinto Saraiva |
| Council of Ministers | Carlos Maria Feijo (as published) |
| Chief of General Staff of Angolan Armed Forces | Joao Baptista de Matos (replaces Franca "Ndalú") |
| Deputies | Two to be appointed by UNITA Second Lieutenant Pedro Neto Admiral Gaspar Santos Rufino |
| Deputy ministers in the Presidency of the Republic | |
| | Jose Leitao da Costa e Silva (Civilian affairs) Oswaldo Jesus Serra van Dunem (Military affairs) |
| Governor of the National Bank of Angola [BNA] | Sebastiao Passos Lavrador |
| Deputy BNA Governor | Generoso Hermenegildo de Almeida |

UNITA Occupies Oil Areas

MB1212093892 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The National Angolan Fuel Company [Sonangol] Aeronautics Division has suffered losses estimated at 400 million new kwanzas over the last two months. That is because National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] occupied the areas of Capanda and Lujamba, where the Aeronautics Division operated. The company carries contracted personnel to and from oil drilling areas. Lately, it has expanded its services and started carrying workers in the diamond and energy sectors. Its activity has been reduced by some 60 percent, because the areas in which it operates—with the exception of Soyo—are now under UNITA's control. [passage omitted]

UNITA Says Government Training Riot Police

MB1112174592 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Officials belonging to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] in Huambo Province have been cited as training a People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] contingent, numbering one battalion [words indistinct] the Angolan People's Police, and recruiting youths in order to reinforce the riot police which already has more than 6,000 men.

Other confirmed reports reveal the arrival of another force in Huambo coming from Luanda [words indistinct] believed to be riot police. The men dressed in civilian clothes have been going from ward to ward with specific missions, within the framework of the government's vast strategy to destabilize the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Apart from these warmongering preparations, the MPLA-PT government in the province held a meeting with foreigners living there on Monday [7 December] afternoon, calling for their urgent evacuation to their countries. The MPLA-PT government said [words indistinct] of a war with tragic consequences [words indistinct]. UNITA continues, however, to favor dialogue.

Commentary: UNITA Needs To Act in Good Faith

MB1112085292 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Angolan Government has publicly expressed its desire to resume talks with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to try and find solutions to the serious political and military problems facing the country. To that end, UNITA's first step should be to show a willingness to engage in talks by

adopting clear measures that will go beyond the waves of formally stated good intentions reaching us from the city of Huambo. Such stated willingness to engage in dialogue will gain consistency if UNITA effectively and honestly withdraws from the cities of Uige and Negage, and also if it honors the various clauses in the Bicesse Accords.

At the new government's swearing in ceremony last week, Angolan President Engineer Jose Eduardo dos Santos made sufficiently clear what steps must be taken with immediate effect for a just solution to the situation of war that was caused by UNITA. Though it is true that Jonas Savimbi's organization has already announced its willingness to participate in the government, and in Parliament—which were two of the conditions set by the Angolan head of state a week ago—it is nonetheless true that UNITA has not yet complied with three other essential points:

The stabilization of Angola.

1. The return of UNITA soldiers to their confinement points. They must be fully disarmed under international supervision;
2. The withdrawal [as heard] of their places in the Angolan Armed Forces;
3. UNITA must unambiguously accept its electoral defeat.

For as long as these premises remain ignored, all possibility of a real solution to the current crisis will amount to nothing other than an inconsistent and naive illusion. It is not possible for trust to exist when one of the parties uses dialogue as a means to gain time in order to secure military advantages on the ground.

Truthful dialogue is the only sort of dialogue that interests Angolan people from Cabinda Province to Cunene Province, but that will only be possible when there is good faith and, above all, when pacifying speeches are matched by practical actions on the ground.

Radio: MPLA Kills Portuguese Citizen in Gabela

MB1112065292 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Jose Eduardo dos Santos' organization, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT], is determined to kill all Angolan citizens who do not speak Kimbundu. Mr. Ribeiro, a Portuguese national who was the manager of the Duarte e Martins enterprise in Gabela, Cuanza Sul Province, and a Mr. Rufino were victims of that tribal genocide.

In Calulo, the Riot Police cold-bloodedly murdered Raul Francisco, a traditional leader. In Conda, Augusto Bastos (Limbi), a traditional ruler of great influence, and Teresa Clemente, the chairman of the local Lima [League of Angolan Women] committee, were killed.

Meanwhile, manhunt operations against National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] sympathizers continue unabated. A well placed source in (?Conda) has told the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel the Riot Police have been involved in a widespread campaign of setting alight UNITA sympathizers' homes over the last few days.

Huambo Government Says 150 People Missing

MB1112072092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] In the city of Huambo, at least 150 people are believed missing since the holding of the September elections. This was disclosed in a document issued by Huambo Provincial Government, which does not, however, explain the circumstances that led to the disappearance of those persons. It only refers to the feelings of consternation and revolt experienced by the relatives of those missing. Most of those people disappeared between the day the election results were announced, and the start of clashes between the Angolan Police and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola forces.

Botswana

Masire Advises Caution For Somalia Bound Troops

MB1512200792 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The president, Sir Ketumile Masire, has appealed for discipline among the BDF [Botswana Defence Force] troops who will be part of the international force serving in Somalia. President Masire was addressing the troops this evening at Sir Seretse Khama Barracks in Mogoditshane. The troops are leaving tomorrow.

The president said in keeping with its beliefs in democracy and rights, and in keeping with obligations of the United Nations, Botswana has accepted a request to participate in the relief operation together with other members of the United Nations. President Masire advised the troops to use this opportunity to gain experience in such important, rare missions. He warned the troops that Somalia is volatile and full of risks and warned them to exercise more caution.

Mozambique

Chissano Presents Annual Report To Assembly

MB1612111092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Report from Maputo's Hall of the Congress by Radio Mozambique reporter Gabriel Mussavel]

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano today presented to the Assembly of the Republic his annual report on the

situation in the country. Chissano began by noting that, during the first special Assembly of the Republic session, between the end of September and the beginning of October, he had briefed the Assembly on the steps that had been taken up to the signing of the General Peace Accord.

He added that, since then, he has promulgated and ordered the publication of the law approving the General Peace Accord, which came into force on 15 October. Chissano then turned to the issue of UN participation in the Mozambican peace process, and noted that a token 25-man contingent had arrived in the country, along with Aldo Ajello, interim representative of the UN secretary general. Chissano said that, with the arrival of the latter, it was possible to create the commissions prescribed by the accord.

With regard to the commissions, Chissano said that, after the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] had rejected Zimbabwe's participation in the Cease-Fire Commission, the Renamo leader had reconsidered his stand, and finally accepted that country's participation. Chissano noted that Zimbabwe and Kenya will integrate the aforesaid commission in the wake of that decision. The Mozambican Government had initially proposed that both countries participate in the Cease-Fire Commission.

At another point in his speech, the Mozambican head of state said that he is happy to report calm throughout the country, following Cease-Fire Commission and the Supervision and Control Commission [CSC] discussions concerning reported violations. He added that all fighting has ceased on the ground. He also disclosed that Renamo Leader Afonso Dhlakama had undertaken not to allow Renamo forces to carry out acts of violence, or attacks, in terms of the General Peace Accord. President Chissano stressed the governmental forces have received orders to avoid all offensive moves, and to work toward making peace more secure. The Mozambican head of state said this was a mutual undertaking, and he added there was commitment to the implementation of the General Peace Accord. He said this means peace will be safeguarded and made more solid.

Chissano regretted the fact that movement is not yet possible in every part of the country, because mines have not been removed from all areas, and because Renamo regards some areas as being under its control. He announced mine removal operations are to begin soon, so humanitarian aid can reach people in need in all areas of Mozambican territory.

Renamo Communique on Dhlakama Visit to Zimbabwe

MB1512171992 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 1600 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The following is a communique from the Office of the President of the Mozambique National Resistance

[Renamo] regarding the visit made by President Afonso Dhlakama to Zimbabwe from the 9th to 12th of December.

The Renamo delegation included Renamo Secretary General Vicente Ululu, Agriculture Minister Paris Baza, Josefate Muhlanga, Renamo ambassador accredited to Kenya, (Albino Mazuze), member of the Renamo embassy in Kenya, and two security officers assigned to the Presidency.

President Dhlakama visited Zimbabwe within the framework of Renamo's regional policy and in the spirit of reconciliation with all neighboring countries which assisted the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] in the war against Renamo. President Dhlakama discussed a number of issues with President Robert Mugabe, including:

The question of Zimbabwean troops still on the Mozambican territory. This issue was widely debated. There was a great deal of confusion created by Mr. Aldo Ajello, the UN secretary general's special representative, who had requested the continued presence of Zimbabwean troops on the Beira and Limpopo Corridors, but later denied that, stating that Frelimo, Renamo, and Zimbabwe had misunderstood the situation. In view of that, President Dhlakama realized that it was pointless to force Zimbabwe to withdraw its troops from Mozambique before the arrival of the UN troops to monitor the peace accord. What matters is not only the withdrawal of Zimbabwe troops, but the fulfillment of the peace accord itself. In fact, the withdrawal of the Zimbabwean troops should be verified by the United Nations. So, once UN forces arrive in Mozambique, Zimbabwean troops will immediately abandon the country, returning to Zimbabwe.

Also discussed at the meeting were the delays in the implementation of every aspect of the peace process. The United Nations has not yet sent forces to supervise the peace accord. The Renamo and Frelimo armies have not yet been confined to assembly points, and the armed groups have not yet been disarmed. The date for the elections has, therefore, been delayed. President Dhlakama urged President Robert Mugabe to impress on the United Nations the urgency of sending troops to Mozambique.

President Mugabe agreed to comply with the request, and on the following day he appealed to the United Nations to rapidly send forces to Mozambique as soon as possible. The appeal was made at a summit of the Frontline heads of state held on 11 December.

Presidents Dhlakama and Mugabe stated their desire to forget the past and agreed to promote friendly relations in line with Renamo's policy, whereby a lasting reconciliation and the socioeconomic development of southern Africa are only possible if one forgets and forgives. President Dhlakama urged President Robert Mugabe to support democracy in Mozambique by acting impartially.

President Dhlakama stated that when Renamo wins the Mozambican elections, it would maintain good relations with the Government of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean people. Likewise, he said if Renamo loses the elections it will accept the winning party and be in opposition.

For his part, President Mugabe said he would do his best in order to support democracy and see to it that free, fair, and democratic elections are held in Mozambique. He added that Zimbabwe will recognize Renamo, Frelimo, or any other party that might win the elections.

President Dhlakama also informed President Mugabe that Renamo agrees that Zimbabwe should take part in one of the commissions that monitor the accord. Zimbabwe and Kenya will have to be part of the Cease-Fire Commission [CCF] because the two countries had not been integrated into the CCF.

President Dhlakama discussed with President Mugabe the return of Mozambican refugees. It was agreed that the refugees should return in order to take part in the upcoming elections. President Dhlakama thanked the Zimbabwe Government for the assistance rendered to the Mozambican refugees. President Dhlakama added that the Government of Zimbabwe could continue assisting the Mozambican people who have been suffering from famine and disease.

The visit to Zimbabwe went well and was very successful.

Renamo Accuses Government of Accord Violations

MB1512205792 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 1600 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] The Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] is violating the peace accord. More than 2,000 Frelimo soldiers and 3,000 elements of the People's National Security Service [SNASP] have been integrated into the People's Police. Frelimo has been carrying out that plan since the signing of the peace accord.

The accord does not foresee the transfer of army and security personnel to the People's Police. During the negotiations, Frelimo was opposed to Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] elements joining the police force, alleging that the unit should be nonpartisan. Renamo, however, wanted some of its members in the police force in order to see to it that it acted impartially. Although this issue had deadlocked the talks, the Renamo president, understanding the problems afflicting Frelimo, withdrew his demand to include Renamo members in the police force.

Now, it is quite clear that Frelimo is transferring army and security personnel to the police force, thereby strengthening it as a Frelimo tool. The People's Police consist of Frelimo members and army and the security service members who still owe allegiance to Frelimo. Frelimo's policies are further strengthened whenever a

Frelimo army soldier or a SNASP element join the police force. While Frelimo claims that it is trimming down its grip on every sector of society, the People's Police will in fact operate as a Frelimo extension, torturing, intimidating, and even (?deceiving) Mozambicans during the election campaign.

It does not make sense that a SNASP member, who has killed several people, should join the police force in order to uphold law and order. Such a member will never be a [words indistinct], but will instead continue to act as a SNASP agent, adopting the same cruel attitude toward the Mozambican people.

President Dhlakama has described such a behavior by President Chissano as typical of an irresponsible and confused person. It does not make sense that Joaquim Chissano, after having cried on President Dhlakama's shoulders and in the process gaining the Renamo leader's sympathy, should then adopt such an attitude.

The peace process could be endangered if Renamo pays back in kind. Because President Dhlakama is a person concerned with the suffering of the Mozambican people, he will do his best to thwart Frelimo's ploys. He will urge the international community, through the United Nations, to force Frelimo to abandon its ploys.

CSC Meets in Maputo, Discusses Mine Removal

MB1612054692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] The Supervision and Control Commission [CSC], which is responsible for supervising the implementation of the Mozambique General Peace Accord, has been meeting in Maputo over the last two days under the chairmanship of Aldo Ajello, special representative of the UN secretary general to our country. The meeting has been examining issues connected with removing mines from Mozambican roads.

The government team to the meeting is led by Labor Minister Teodato Hunguana. The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] team is led by Renamo Foreign Affairs Secretary Jose de Castro. Armando Guebuza and Raul Domingos, the heads of the two teams, are both attending the Rome donor conference to help Mozambique with its national reconstruction program.

Radio Mozambique has learned that Afonso Dhlakama has reached an agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC, concerning removing mines from seven routes permitting access to areas under Renamo's control. The ICRC has contracted a British enterprise for this purpose.

Speaking to Radio Mozambique, Renamo Foreign Affairs Secretary Jose de Castro said he had been astonished to receive a call to attend a CSC meeting. Jose de Castro said his organization fails to see the need to have the matter discussed within the CSC, because it was something

between his movement and the ICRC within the framework of humanitarian aid distribution operations.

A source in the government team to the CSC has told Radio Mozambique that the Mozambican authorities are in agreement with mine removal operations in those areas, as long as such operations are conducted in the presence of Renamo, government, and UN officials. That source added that the authorities are not insensitive to the problems of people in need of aid, but they believe the mine removal process must be conducted at the level of the CSC, which is responsible for overseeing the implementation of that process.

Radio Mozambique has also learned that the government has already presented a nationwide mine removal plan, while Renamo has not done so yet.

Assembly Session Approves Draft Laws

On New Police Force

*MB1512143392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 15 Dec 92*

[Report from Maputo's Hall of the Congress by Radio Mozambique reporter Gabriel Mussavel]

[Excerpt] The draft law creating the Republic of Mozambique's Police was finally approved by the Assembly of the Republic this morning. Its abbreviation will be PRM. It will be a public organization and a paramilitary force serving the Interior Ministry. The PRM will be led by a general commander, who will be assisted by a deputy general commander. The approval of that draft law was the first point on the agenda of this fifth Assembly of the Republic session. [passage omitted]

On Presidential Rights

*MB1512175392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 15 Dec 92*

[Excerpts] In Maputo this afternoon, the deputies to the Assembly of the Republic approved the draft laws on the Rights and Benefits of the President of the Republic, and on the Establishment, Management, and Running of Telecommunications Infrastructures and Services. [passage omitted]

This afternoon, the deputies began debating the Draft Law on Gambling. The debate has, meanwhile, been adjourned to enable the Council of Ministers to make an in-depth assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of the Law on Gambling. Most of the deputies who addressed this morning's session opposed the approval of that law.

Ghana

State of Economy Report

AB1512070092 Accra *THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE*
in English 7-13 Dec 92 pp 6, 7

[Report on the state of the economy by Kwesi Botchwey, secretary for finance]

[Text] The high optimism held by donors for the future of the Ghanaian economy is reflected in the expectation that real gross domestic product of the country will grow at an average annual rate of 5.5 percent during 1992-1994, and that real domestic product, when adjusted for changes in the terms of trade, will grow at an even faster rate of 5.7 percent per annum in those three years. More importantly, from the stand-point of the standard of living, the real domestic product per capita (adjusted for changes in the terms of trade) is forecasted to grow by three percent in 1992, three percent in 1993 and 3.4 percent in 1994.

To achieve such a high growth rate, the country will have to appropriate about 18.9 percent of its gross domestic product to gross capital formation during the three years, compared to 12.7 percent recorded for the 1989-1991 period. Both the private and public sectors are expected to increase their proportions to GDP set aside for investment. During the next three years, public investment is projected to constitute nine percent of the GDP up by 1.2 percentage points, while the private sector is expected to increase its investment from 8.2 percent of GDP to 10 percent annually on the average. Saving-GDP ratio is expected to average 12.9 percent, with government savings-GDP ratio increasing from 2.8 in 1989-1994, and private savings-GDP ratio increasing from 6.1 percent to 8.7 percent.

Investment is projected to exceed savings during the next three years to an extent that the excess investment as a proportion of the GDP will be greater than the average for the last three years. In 1991, this excess was seven percent of the GDP, compared to projected six percent average for the next three years. It follows, therefore, that the country will have to run current account deficits at six percent of real GDP annually during 1992-1994.

The high optimism with which donor agencies hold the future of the Ghanaian economy is further indicated by the fact that high growth rates are expected to be achieved at lower and decreasing rate of inflation, and declining debt service ratio. Inflation, is expected to fall below 10 percent during the next three years. Indeed, it is projected that the rate of inflation will run at eight percent in 1992, and five in the remaining two years of the three-year period. The implication is that either tight control will be put on the money supply, which may therefore tighten liquidity, or the supply of goods and services will increase fast enough to offset any increases in liquidity in the system. In this regard, the confidence placed in agriculture (and hence the weather), domestic production of manufactured goods and services and the

ability of the export sector and foreign grant to generate sufficient foreign exchange to finance increased imports is quite high. Regarding debt service, the average forecast for the 1992-1994 period of \$305 million is well below the average of \$404.2 million during 1989-1991.

Future of Government Finance

Both government revenue and expenditure are projected to grow at an increasing rate in the next three years. The ratio of government revenue to GDP is expected to increase from 13.7 percent during 1989-1991 to 15 percent during 1992-1994. This projection is not all that optimistic, considering that the preliminary data for 1991 puts this ratio at 15 percent. The same can be said for government expenditure which is projected to constitute 19.8 percent of GDP during the next three years, a level which was attained in 1991. Nevertheless, assuming that grant will be flowing in at an even faster rate, the overall budgetary deficit is expected to be surplus, although at a decreasing proportion to the GDP.

Prospects for Export and Imports

Conservative rates of growth have been projected for traditional exports, and therefore nontraditional exports and nonfactor incomes are expected to grow fast enough to fill in the slot, in order for total exports to grow at a respectable rate of 5.9 percent during 1990-1995. The basis for these projections is the diversification policy which is expected to enable nontraditional exports to grow at an average rate of 8.8 percent during the five-year period.

On the other hand, whereas import volumes have lagged behind the economy during the past decade, they are expected to grow in line with the economy in the next decade. In absolute terms, therefore, the balance of payments deficit for each year of the next three years is projected to be above the average for the last three years. It is, however, expected to fall every year, and except for 1992, the economy will do better than the estimated \$441.9 million recorded for 1991.

Projections of imports and export earnings (especially of the latter) are conditioned upon the assumption that the country's terms of trade will improve by 10 percent during 1992-1994. However, to the extent that by 1994 [as published] the country's terms of trade would still be worse than the average for 1989-1991, the balance of payments can improve further only through increases in the volume of exports. In any case, the projected annual balance of payments deficit for the next three years is greater than that for the last three years, it would, however, constitute 5.9 percent of the annual real domestic product, compared to 7.1 percent recorded for the last three years.

These are indeed optimistic predictions. Whereas one does not want to sound pessimistic, it must be pointed out that the realization of these further growth rates in key economic indicators will depend on the continuation of the economic reforms which have so far succeeded in

turning the economy around and putting it on a firm basis for accelerated growth. It is not likely that any future government of the country can afford to discontinue the reform programmes or change their direction and content drastically. A future civilian government will be in a position to create more job opportunities, and distribute incomes more widely and, by so doing, translate the growth into sustained development for the benefit of all Ghanaians.

Debt Service

The forecast for debt and debt-servicing is made difficult by the fact that data on debt and debt-servicing in 1991 is not available to us. Total debt service, i.e., amortization and interest payments is expected to decrease from \$206 million in 1990 to \$187 million in 1993. Ghana is also expected to be in a stronger position to make these payments, owing to strong growth projected for exports of goods and non-factor services from \$948 million in 1990 to \$1,326 million in 1993. Hence the debt service ratio is expected to continue its decline during the 1991-1993 period.

The Future of Agriculture

Agriculture is expected to maintain its dominant role in the Ghanaian economy in the foreseeable future, in spite of the fact that it has already lost its first position in contribution to the GDP to the services sector. Its foreign exchange earning capacity has been enhanced by the advent of non-traditional agricultural exports. The agricultural sector, will also continue to enjoy the largest proportion of the economically active population in the short to medium term. The medium term agricultural development programme (MTADP), an agenda for sustained agricultural growth and development, 1991-2000, is overly optimistic about the future of agriculture. In the programme, the sector is expected to achieve a double digit growth rate per annum during the period.

The planned high growth rate is yet to be achieved in any country in the world. The strategy to achieve the high growth rate is partly through (a) privatization of supply and distribution of agriculture inputs and services, (b) liberalization of the domestic markets for farm products, particularly removing input and output price controls, and (c) putting in place the relevant infrastructural requirements, for example, feeder roads to facilitate the movement of inputs to and output from the major agricultural production areas. The policy to privatize input supply and distribute is aimed at increasing availability at the farm gate. However, the private sector has shown sluggishness in these activities.

In the meantime, as part of the structural adjustment programme, subsidies on input prices have been removed since 1990. This action, in the short run, is likely to produce a negative effect in the use of the inputs which were previously subsidized, particularly, fertilizer which was sold sometimes at much less than 40 percent of cost price. Not only is private profitability endangered

but also the problem of providing credit to the small-scale farmers who dominate the agricultural production scene continues to be elusive. The performance of the 123 rural banks set up primarily to cater for the financial needs of rural entrepreneurs of whom farmers feature prominently has not been encouraging. Consequently, more than 50 percent of them are likely to be closed down in early 1993. Currently, the commercial banks' interest rate for borrowing to finance agricultural enterprises is among the highest in the country as the sector activities have been placed in the high risk category.

The import liberalization policy implemented as part of the structural adjustment programme has resulted in importation of several food products which have a competitive edge over local production. A study recently completed by the Ministry of Agriculture indicates that the production of many agricultural products is highly competitive at the farm gate but it gets lost in the marketing process. Transportation cost alone for some products is estimated to account for about 70 percent of the marketing margin. Improving the efficiency and the effectiveness of the local marketing systems will be crucial in improving the competitive edge of local production over imports.

Given the dependence of agriculture on the vagaries of the weather and the uncertainties in the world price of cocoa, the sector's key foreign exchange earner, our own assessment is that agriculture will not be able to increase its role in the economy in the future. As has been the case in the past, growth in the agricultural sector is expected to lag behind the rest of the economy. The issue, of course, is not whether agriculture can increase its share in basic macroeconomic aggregates, but rather whether the policies which have been implemented so far and are yet to be implemented will be able to increase agricultural production so that the sector is not too much of a drag on economic growth. The answer to this question lies in the future of agriculture, which is more uncertain than that of any other sectors of the Ghanaian economy.

Industrial Prospects

The industrial sector will continue to be the most dynamic sector of the Ghanaian economy. Two sectors hold the key to the future of industrial development of the country, namely, mining and manufacturing. These sectors are expected to grow rapidly if the industrial sector is to recover fully its historical role in the 1970s. Also, assuming that the agricultural sector will not grow faster than its average for 1987-1990, then industry remains the only directly productive sector to fill in the slot. The 1992 Budget Statement contains measures which, hopefully, when implemented, would relieve the manufacturing sector and permit it to grow at a faster rate than it has performed in the past. It is also expected that the financial programme put in place in 1991 would create improved macroeconomic environment which would in turn generate incentives of new investment. Although these incentives would benefit all investment activities, the industrial sector, and in particular, the

manufacturing sector, has the greatest potential for attracting the investment which would be forthcoming as a result of the improved incentives.

The incentive packages proposed in the budget statement, which were aimed at building upon the impetus created by the 1991 measures, seek to:

- a. relieve financial indebtedness in the corporate sector,
- b. identify the nature and causes of corporate distress with a view to providing a more reliable guide for designing relief to specific companies, and
- c. promote new investment in natural resources and labour-intensive industries.

By the middle of 1992, a study on the level of protection to be given to Ghanaian manufacturing industries had been completed while interim arrangements had been made to provide support to distressed but potentially viable enterprises in both public and private sectors. Also, during the year, a corporate restructuring company - the First Finance Company Limited (FFCL) - began to provide not only venture capital but also managerial and technical assistance to essentially viable enterprises. To remove unfair competition from imports created by the trade liberalization policy, measures were put in place during 1992 to select enterprises which deserve to be assisted with relief measure within the framework of the liberalization policy and international obligations. Finally, the establishment of new enterprises is expected to be more vigorously promoted by the newly established special unit in the Ghana Investment Centre. The unit will provide investment advisory services such as guidance on existing incentives and assistance in identifying investment and financial support. Although all existing and potential investors will benefit from these services, special effort will be directed at indigenous small and medium-scale entrepreneurs.

Although minerals are exhaustible and therefore subject not only to diminishing returns but also eventual depletion, two considerations provide a certain degree of optimism for the very near future. First, the institutional framework for marketing of diamonds, which has in the past depressed the produce price of diamonds and therefore output and export earnings has been reformed with the abolition of the monopoly of the Precious Metals Board. Secondly, new gold mines have been opened in the country and hence the future of gold production is good.

In the light of the increased potential of the mining sector to increase its contribution to both the GDP and export earnings, and the measures already put in place to promote the manufacturing sector, the future of the industrial sector looks good.

The Future for Services

The services sector will continue to grow faster than the three sectors of the economy. The macroeconomic and

structural adjustment programmes have provided conducive environment for rapid growth of transportation, commerce, banking, insurance, tourism, and other services, especially in the private sector.

Although it is the policy of the government to reduce its role in the economy and pass on to the private sector the role of being the pivot of the development process, several considerations suggest that government services will continue to grow. Government expenditures are therefore expected to increase in the provision of health services, education, community services and in environmental control.

Yet, the share of government services will in the future decline, and this means private services will have to increase at a faster rate in order for the services sector to increase its share in the economy. It is in this sector that the private sector's response is expected to be greatest, especially activities which also fall within the informal sector.

Guinea-Bissau

Government Protests Airspace Violation by Senegal

AB1612120792 Paris AFP in French 1642 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Bissau, 15 Dec (AFP)—On 12 and 13 December, Senegalese military planes violated Guinea-Bissau's airspace, in the Cacheu area bordering Senegal, leading to an official protest by the Guinea-Bissau foreign affairs and cooperation minister on 14 December. In a protest note addressed to the Senegalese authorities, the Guinea-Bissau Government stated that the air attack resulted in two deaths, several persons injured, and material damage in many villages close to the Senegalese border.

Expressing the view that the Senegalese Air Force's action was unjustified, the Guinea-Bissau Foreign Ministry stated that Guinea-Bissau would not allow further violation of its airspace, maritime zone, or territory, and that it reserves the right to respond henceforth to any aggression.

According to authorized sources, the Senegalese Army's incursions into Guinea-Bissau territory were carried out in response to an attack against Senegalese military forces in Casamance on 11 December which led to two deaths and six others wounded on the Senegalese side. Casamance separatists often take refuge in Guinea-Bissau, according to reliable sources.

Guinea-Bissau is a guarantor of the agreement signed in 1991 between the Senegalese Government and the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance [MFDC], which led to the release of 350 Casamance separatists. In return, MFDC, which demanded the withdrawal of Senegalese military forces, promised to lay down its arms.

There was a clash in 1990, in Soukoudiaque, in the Sao Domingos area, between the Senegalese and Guinea-Bissau Armies, which lasted for several days. Senegal has been confronted, for the past 10 years, with a separatist demand in Casamance. Over the past few months, separatist attacks attributed to MFDC dissidents, have resulted in some 100 deaths and created a climate of insecurity in this area that borders Guinea-Bissau. The major tourist complexes in the area have decided to remain closed until October 1993 because of this insecurity.

Ivory Coast

Prime Minister Receives PRC Official

AB1512062992 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaîne Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara received yesterday afternoon the secretary general of the PRC State Commission for Science and Technology, Song (Bi Sing) [name as heard], who spoke to the press about his impressions after the audience:

[Begin recording in Mandarin fading into French translation] The prime minister told us that both he and the Government of the Ivory Coast paid particular attention to the economic reforms in the PRC these past years. We also spoke about friendly relations between the Ivory Coast and the PRC, bilateral cooperation in the fields of science and technology, and the PRC socialist market economy.

This time, the PRC delegation, led by me, is in your beautiful country, the Ivory Coast, to hold discussions on cooperation in the field of science and technology. Of course, there will be an exhibition of PRC practical technology. We will also hold discussions with the Ministry of Scientific Research on sectors of cooperation. We hope to sign a cooperation protocol in the field of remote sensing. We will also exchange geographic information and discuss PRC medicine. [end recording]

Liberia

ULIMO Official Warns Citizens To Leave Gbarnga

AB1512190592 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Reports coming out of Liberia in the last few days suggest that clashes between the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia [ULIMO] and Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] are spreading further from Monrovia and into Bong County. Yesterday on this program, we carried reports in the Liberian press that a string of towns including Bong Mines, had fallen to ULIMO after heavy shelling.

In the past, the NPFL had accused ULIMO of being indeed with the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group troops and even of fighting alongside them. Well today, ULIMO's military commander, Brigadier General Roosevelt Johnson, called us from Freetown to comment on the latest military situation. On the line Robin White asked him what is his information was.

[Begin recording] [Johnson] We have captured Bong Mines. We have been in Bong Mines now almost three to four days ago. We have complete control of Bong Mines.

[White] How much fighting was there for the town?

[Johnson] Well, there was not much serious fighting. The rebels are all running away from us. They know the ability of my gallant forces and they are all running away. And there was not much fighting there. In fact we had no casualty. It was like eating bread with butter.

[White] When you say rebels who do you mean?

[Johnson] Charles Taylor's NPFL rebels.

[White] You refer to them as rebels?

[Johnson] Yes, they are.

[White] What about you? What are you?

[Johnson] We are true liberators.

[White] Now, what are your next targets?

[Johnson] Well Robin, for security reasons, I would not say exactly what my next targets would be. But obviously, definitely, Gbarnga is (?one of them). And I am calling on all citizens in Gbarnga to vacate Gbarnga. We do not want to kill innocent people. I am also appealing to the rebels to lay down their arms because we definitely are in full control and we are going to take over Gbarnga.

[White] How far are you away from Gbarnga?

[Johnson] Well Robin, we are surrounding Gbarnga and for security reasons I cannot disclose our position presently.

[White] How many people do you have surrounding Gbarnga?

[Johnson] Well, I can say that Robin for security reasons I cannot disclose my strength. But I have the ability there to take over Gbarnga.

[White] Some people might find a little surprising, I mean, most people seem to think you are just a handful of people.

[Johnson, laughing] Well, it is not the quantity of the men that you have but the ability. [end recording]

Mali**Premier on Neutrality in Traore 'Murder' Trial**

AB1312165092 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Statement by Prime Minister Younoussi Toure in Bamako on 9 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear countrymen, when the government of the Third Republic assumed office last June, it resolved—with regard to outstanding issues—to reopen the murder trial which had been adjourned on 4 June. Beyond the exigencies of the law, the government's aim was to respond to a need for justice which had been largely felt by the Malian people.

Patiently, the president of the Republic and the government took all the necessary steps to ensure that the trial is conducted in an atmosphere devoid of hate and passion, and in a manner that scrupulously complies with the procedures, rules, and regulations worthy of the rule of law to which the new Mali subscribes. Thus, the government attached the highest priority to settling problems relating to the compensation of victims and claimants of the repressions of January and March 1991, and reached an agreement with the Association of Victims of Repression on 23 November.

Before then, the state had dropped the idea of instituting a civil action and agreed to be cited as being liable for damages. At the same time, a vast enlightenment campaign was undertaken on a large scale, the objective being—beyond the trial itself but as a consequence thereof—to succeed in the task of reconciling the people with itself and with its Army. Structures put in place to organize the trial were given a mandate to submit to the government any proposals that could ensure the latter's complete success. Despite the meagerness of its resources, the state spared neither its human, financial, or material resources to meet what could be aptly considered as an historic challenge.

It was against this background and in this spirit that the trial reopened on 26 November and has since been conducted with an absolutely free hand by the judiciary. The government has desisted and will continue to desist from any interference of any nature in the course of the trial, just as in the area of justice, generally. It is of utmost importance that the trial be shielded against all manner of political pressures. The success of the murder trial is an imperative, an objective to attain at all cost and, manifestly, a duty to the whole nation, particularly all democrats and all patriots. It will also be an honor for our country and for democratic Africa. Thank you. Long Live the Republic!

Niger**About 10,000 Tuaregs in North Said Threatened by Famine**

AB1112125092 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 8 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Almost 10,000 Tuaregs in northern Niger are threatened by famine, according to the rebel Air and Azawad Liberation Front [FLAA]. The Front has linked the situation to continuing clashes between the Tuaregs and the Army in Niger following the collapse of a peace pact signed earlier this year. Neighboring Algeria played a mediating role between the two sides, and the claims of impending food shortages for the Tuaregs have come from Mohamed Krishna, the Front's spokesman in southern Algeria. From Algiers, Mohamed Areskimo faxed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to the ALGERIAN NEWS AGENCY in Tamanrasset, Mr. Krishna said the Niger Government had put a total embargo on the Tuaregs in northern Niger. He said more than 5,000 of them had tried to flee towards Algeria to escape death and famine caused, he said, by soldiers trying to exterminate Tuaregs. He said 17 of them had been found dead in the past days in the Tenere desert in northern Niger.

Mr. Krishna said that since the end of August, the Niger Army had unleashed a vast operation intended to end the Tuareg rebellion, which has gone on for more than a year in northern Niger. He said that several hundred Tuaregs had been detained, though official sources maintained that around only 160 people suspected of being linked to the FLAA were in detention. It is thought the Army is not ready to release the detainees, and the FLAA rebels themselves will not set free around 50 people, mostly soldiers, police, and gendarmes, that they are holding prisoner.

Germany is threatening to suspend all next year's aid to Niger, if those detained by the government are not released soon. Meanwhile, preparations are under way to organize a forum of national reconciliation, which would aim to find a political solution to the conflict. [end recording]

New Bills Create Electoral Wards

AB1312164192 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0545 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The High Council of the Republic held an extraordinary meeting yesterday at which two draft ordinances were adopted. This is in fulfillment of the transitional institutions' pledges to create favorable conditions for holding the upcoming popular elections in a climate of social peace and fairness. The first draft ordinance creates special electoral wards. These are

Bilma District; Bani Bangou, Bankilare, Barmou, Ngourt, Tassara, Tasker and Torodi administrative posts. The second draft ordinance, stemming from the implementation of preceding texts, fixes and distributes parliamentary seats according to electoral wards. So, the National Assembly will have 83 deputies instead of 75, as stipulated earlier. [passage omitted]

Nigeria

Babangida Says Foundation Laid for Democracy

AB1512102092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida has said that although the political process has not been as successful as anticipated, it has provided a durable structure that will meet the peculiarities of the country. The president made the assertion yesterday in a message to a three-day seminar on military justice and democracy in Lagos.

General Babangida contended that a solid foundation, upon which the political and economic structures supportive of full democratization could be built, has been laid. He pointed out that the ingredients of democracy included material condition of the people and that that is why the economic adjustment program was introduced.

General Babangida's message was delivered by the chief of defense staff and minister of defense, General Sanni Abacha. In a speech, Gen. Abacha said that the military justice system was attracting external academic interests. This, he said, was a welcome development because it would help the system to cope with the dynamics of the society.

On the occasion, a former head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, called on the military to ensure the stability of the country in the interest of the durability of the democratic experiment.

Paper Reacts to U.S. Abduction of Drug Suspect

AB1312170292 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] The arrogance and insult on other people's intelligence with which Americans pursue their national interest in other countries are clearly exposed by AFRICAN CONCORD in its cover story entitled: The American Drug Raid. In the story, the magazine describes how American drug law agents, in a commando like operation, abducted a Nigerian drug suspect with the tacit cooperation of the Nigerian authorities. AFRICAN CONCORD says the plot to get the drug suspect to the U.S. for trial actually started in the area court of Maryland, U.S.A., and later got the awesome support of the White House.

The magazine reports that so far, both the Nigerian Police and the Nigerian Drug Law [Enforcement] Agency have confirmed the alleged abduction, but

washed their hands clean of complicity with the Americans. AFRICAN CONCORD says the accomplice left in the case, therefore, is Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Justice, which has argued on behalf of the Americans for the extradition of drug suspects to America. The magazine is worried that up till now the Nigerian Government is yet to make a statement on the latest alleged abduction of a Nigerian drug suspect.

AFRICAN CONCORD says the logical question now is: Who is next on America's hit list? Certainly, Nigerians will not accept to become prisoners of America in their own country, simply because America is losing the drug war.

Togo

Opposition Leader on Strike, Political Crisis

AB1512161892 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 13 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program hosted by Chris Green]

[Text] Having survived an assassination attempt in May, the prominent Togolese opposition leader, Gilchrist Olympio is very much back into the political swing. As the general strike in Togo ground to the end of its first month, the son of Togo's first president was on a tour of several West African countries, including Togo's immediate neighbors, Ghana and Benin. This weekend, he passed through London and came to the Focus studio. I asked him what people in the neighboring countries were saying about the situation in Togo.

[Begin recording] [Olympio] Well, naturally the neighbors are very worried because of a possible spillover from Togo. As we know, nobody knows exactly what the outcome of the current strike is going to be, but the position of a lot of responsible people, officials in the neighboring countries, is they are extremely worried about the position in Togo.

[Green] Last weekend, there were great alarms in Togo, stories of foreign commandos coming over the border. What did you hear about that?

[Olympio] Well, we have been having mercenaries coming to Togo for the last 17 years. I was personally involved to have recruited some in 1977. There is not an iota of truth in all this.

[Green] Presumably, the government in Ghana, despite having gone through elections, would be worried about the president of a neighboring country being toppled by popular movement.

[Olympio] I do not think so. I think the Ghanaians genuinely would like to see elections held in Togo very much as in Ghana. Now, they also know that we are dealing with an animal that is an extremely difficult one. It has proven to be so in the last 25 or 30 years, but as

neighbors, I think what they really will like to see is to have conditions that will lead to elections.

[Green] Do you think that there is a possible precedent for Togo there, that Jerry Rawlings, despite seeming unpopularity, stood and was reinstated as president? Do you think President Eyadema could do the same trick in Togo?

[Olympio] First, I will not talk of a seeming unpopularity of Rawlings. I think he has always had solid support in the rural areas of the country—not just in certain particular parts of Ghana—but from the south to the north. I think there has always been some opposition to him in the urban areas and among the intelligentsia. So, it was give and take, who was going to win in fair elections. This is not the case in Togo. I do not see exactly how the present president of Togo could win fair elections in Togo. All that we can say is if there is a runoff, it is going to be a runoff between two or three opposition candidates. I do not see him going even to the runoff.

[Green] In Togo, with the general strike, is that not crippling Togo's economy, making it impossible for any opposition takeover to have any success economically.

[Olympio] Well, the country has been so badly managed in the last few years so I do not think a month's general strike or two months' general strike....

[Green, interrupting] We could be talking about an indefinite strike.

[Olympio] Well, until the current regime changes or makes a move towards accepting some of the basic claims of the opposition and these are:

1. To make sure that there is a neutral Army that will make sure that elections are properly conducted.

2. I think everybody would like to see a situation, whereby firm dates for elections are fixed; enough time given for foreign observers to be invited to come into the country to observe how elections are going to be conducted.

3. I think the opposition would like to make sure that the Army makes a solemn proclamation on radio and television that they are neutral in politics. They are there to protect the country not to take part in day to day running of the country; not to frighten the population; not to set people's houses on fire; not to throw hand grenades into people's shops, and so on and so forth, and I think these are legitimate demands, and I do not see how the president can get away without meeting any of those demands.

[Green] But he has gone through a month of general strike so far; there have been talks between the president and the prime minister but actually, it is a standoff; neither side can push it a stage further. Is the next stage not going to be that people are going to drift back to work simply because they cannot afford to stay out, that President Eyadema will starve the strikers back to work?

[Olympio] Well, this does not seem to be the impression last Thursday [10 December] when I was in West Africa, and there was a general rally in the country. I think the determination of the population is even stronger than that of political leaders. I think the population is quite determined to go on and on and on with the strike. There is a chain of solidarity in the country, where people are sharing out food, clothing. Fishermen are going to work every morning, bringing out sardines and little fishes frying them and sharing them out in all the villages, especially in an area where the Army was particularly vindictive, and shot a lot of people—a place called Kodjoviakope—and I think it will take a long time to persuade these people to go back to work. You see, one of the advantages of underdeveloped countries, unlike highly developed countries, is that we can go back to subsistence economies without too much difficulty. [end recording]

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